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Poland's Mazowiecki on Restructuring CEMA

AU1701100090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jan 90 p 1

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk; date and place not given: "Two Trends—The 45th Session of CEMA"]

[Text] [Kolodziejczyk] We are holding this interview aboard an aircraft returning from Sofia to Warsaw. Premier Mazowiecki, what is your opinion on the results of the 45th session of CEMA and the suggestions put forward by the Polish side?

[Mazowiecki] There were, as usual, two elements at the session. On the one hand there is the work during the session, and, on the other, there is the chance to hold bilateral meetings. The Polish delegation was very active on both fronts.

Regarding the session itself, the most important thing that emerged was the agreement that it is no longer a case of amending the bureaucratic functioning of the CEMA structures, but of fundamental change and the elaboration of proposals that will lead toward such changes. Our suggestion, which was supported and accepted by other countries, was accepted. It concerns the formation of a special working group which will be tasked with elaborating the future concept of CEMA. It follows that we have to introduce changes to the CEMA statute. It was agreed that this working group would be subordinated to the decisions to be made at the premier level. This is important, because it means that the work of this group will not become trapped in endless bureaucracy. This is the first and a very fundamental point.

The second point is a decisive shift to market principles and a free market economy, which will apply to the economic dealings between CEMA countries. Thus, there was acceptance of the principle that it is the enterprise and the company, and not the state, that are the most important and decisive elements in the trade between CEMA members. Of course, the state will have the right to oversee trade in certain crucial commodities such as raw materials and fuel, for example. However, in most other things, the fundamental element determining price, volume of turnover, and mutual obligations will be the enterprise itself. These in a nutshell are the general assumptions behind our proposals. I hope they will meet with understanding in the countries of central-Eastern Europe, and I will not try to hide the fact that I am also counting on the Soviet Union's understanding. Obviously, there are countries in CEMA whose level of economic development falls short of the postulates which stem from our concept. In such cases this will set in motion a mechanism of greater internal pluralism in the new CEMA formula.

[Kolodziejczyk] Is this a case of greater opportunities for bilateral or multilateral agreements and decisions in CEMA?

[Mazowiecki] This is our intention, but not exclusively. CEMA must extend the principle of openness to other economic organizations and to all contacts with economic organisms within the framework of the all-European and world processes. This is the proper direction.

[Kolodziejczyk] Will the changeover to payment in convertible currency prove too expensive for the Polish economy, which today finds itself in a very difficult situation?

[Mazowiecki] This is a very real problem. Contrary to the accepted view in Poland, there are still many people who believe that the changeover to a convertible currency would be beneficial for us. The fact is that as a result of the differences in world prices, which came about during the period of the oil-price rises, a fast and total changeover to convertible currency payments would not be favorable to us. We have agreed that convertible currency will apply to only 10-15 percent of our dealings. Further changeovers will take place gradually on the basis of agreements and taking into account all calculations and claims, so that the settlements are not made in a mechanical way.

[Kolodziejczyk] Premier, in your opinion which country should be seen as Poland's main partner and what are your thoughts on the subject of closer cooperation between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary?

[Mazowiecki] I think the main partner should be the country with which we have the largest volume of trade, namely, the Soviet Union. Here it is a question of raw materials, fuel, among other things. Supplies of these are fundamental to our economy, and we cannot shut our eyes to this fact.

Regarding countries such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary, there are opportunities for developing greater cooperation. I am thinking of cooperation which will not jeopardize the cooperation of each of these countries with their own main partner and would be complementary and constitute a certain economic rapprochement. This would not only mean economic rapprochement, but stems from the fact that these countries are our natural allies and that their own economies are being restructured into market economies.

In Sofia I spoke with Marian Calfa and Miklos Nemeth, the Czechoslovak and Hungarian premiers, respectively, on the subject of fostering this cooperation. I intend to pay a working visit to Czechoslovakia soon, and our foreign minister, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, will soon visit Hungary. I also think that we have to consider—at the level of economic experts—how this economic cooperation between these three countries could be intensified. I have had talks on this subject and we are in agreement.

[Kolodziejczyk] Each of the countries that are undergoing reforms seem to be attempting to join Western Europe as soon as possible. Would it not be more advantageous for each of us if we could first have integration among ourselves and forget old quarrels?

[Mazowiecki] In my opinion it would be a great calamity if our Central-East European political geography gave rise to what one could describe as 'Balkanization.' I believe that we have to do everything in our power to secure the development of favorable and lasting cooperation for all. I believe that such an opportunity has emerged.

Romania's Roman on CEMA Cooperation

AU1501162590 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Romanian Premier Petre Roman by "R.M." in Sofia—date not given: "Nationalism Should Not Be a Political Means"]

[Text] ["R.M."] What is your opinion on the Hungarian proposal for the creation of small-scale integration within a radically reorganized CEMA?

[Roman] I agree with Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth that the history of CEMA has so far been one of unfulfilled decisions. I think that a considerable development of bilateral relations between European countries is the most important and efficient means of future cooperation. I have just had a discussion with Miklos Nemeth. We decided to immediately start developing Hungarian-Romanian cooperation in the economic, political, and social areas. We also agreed that CEMA needs to be radically reorganized. I cannot yet tell you what form of cooperation the members will welcome after this reorganization. You also know that, in accordance with a Polish proposal, a separate committee will study the possibility of modifying the statute. Besides, our future greatly depends on the political changes in our countries, that is, on what our peoples want from the future. We must create a balance between the people's desire and our possibilities. In any case, we must approach a market economy.

["R.M."] Romania is currently in a fluid political situation, following a victorious revolution. Has the situation already become consolidated?

[Roman] Yes, it has. Today our main goal is to create political and economic stability. I think that the people's political activity has increased considerably after the revolution. The economy is now our main problem. We must not allow production to drop and our standard of living to fall.

["R.M."] Do you expect some sort of aid package from CEMA?

[Roman] CEMA today is not in a position to deal with such things. We can expect such aid from individual member countries instead.

["R.M."] The fact that you abolished the death sentence is a sign of consolidation. However, one can hear many opinions that, through this, mass murderers could avoid their due punishment.

[Roman] We want to investigate every single case correctly and in accordance with the law. I stress the legality and correctness here. The courts should also pass sentence accordingly.

["R.M."] The introduction of a multiparty system will accompany democracy. In the course of our history, it has often happened both in Romania and Hungary that parties organized on nationalistic bases. Is there such a danger in Romania today?

[Roman] The program of the National Salvation Front clearly states that we do not accept any nationalist or extremist stand from any new party. Certain nationalistic manifestations could occur in the currently overheated situation, but we will not tolerate nationalism as a political means.

Four Armed Albanians Surrender in Yugoslavia

LD2401133990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1301 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Titograd, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Four armed people today succeeded in crossing from Albania into Yugoslavia's Montenegro. The four Albanian nationals have surrendered to Yugoslav border guards. The Montenegro Secretariat for Information announced this today.

Asked if [word indistinct] evident increased military activity along the border and extra security guards around television and radio stations in Albania are an indication that, after all, something unusual has been happening in that country, Montenegro Information Secretary Nikola Ivanovic said that he could neither deny nor confirm this, adding that the sound of frequent gunfire in Tirana has been explained by alleged military exercises.

Kapllani Arrives in Ankara for Official Visit

AU2501091290 Tirana ATA in English 0731 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 25 (ATA)—The deputy minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, arrived on a visit to Ankara yesterday. At the airport of Ankara he was received by the deputy foreign minister of Turkey, Tugay Ozcar; the director of the Political Department, Berhan Ekinci; and other functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Turkish foreign deputy minister, Tugay Ozcar, after wishing welcome to the Albanian delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that the relations between Turkey and Albanian develop and progress without any problem, that the friendship between the two countries is based on numerous traditional links. He expressed the wish that the exchange of official delegations be raised to the highest degree.

On his part the Albanian deputy foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, expressed his satisfaction over the visit he is paying to friendly Turkey and emphasized that the relations of friendship and cooperation between Albania and Turkey will develop continuously on a stable basis.

Present at the airport was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentionary of Albania in Ankara, Nesip Kaci.

Commissions Approve Draft Law Package

AU2301164290 Sofia BTA in English 1620 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Package of New Laws Passes Last Checks"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—A package of draft laws which is to be untied at the parliament session on Thursday [25 January] passed today the last checks at several standing National Assembly commissions.

With some small amendments the draft law on property responsibility and harms caused in foreign currency was approved. It envisages three-fold property responsibility for the persons having access to currency and to commodity and material values, evaluated in currency.

Concerning the draft law on the academic autonomy of higher educational establishments there were many disputes, which placed under question its introduction at the present session. The commissions will take their final stand tomorrow.

Three decrees of the State Council were also considered, the endorsement of which was suspended at the December parliament session.

The members of the commissions will propose that only decree No. 922 for use of the land and realization of agricultural activity be endorsed at the session. It was suspended in December as according to the deputies an all-round law on the land should be prepared. This, however turned to be quite a difficult task and for the time being the decree will again be introduced with certain changes. They remove the deadline of 50 years land leasing, relieving from lease investment for a certain period of time the poorly productive lands and perennial plants, and give the cooperative agrarian economy the right to determine alone the size of land for personal use, etc.

The name "collective agricultural economies" is proposed to be replaced by "labour and collective agrarian economies." This name was used in this country in the fifties and the sixties.

More Bills Approved

AU2501090590 Sofia BTA in English 2119 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—Today five bills were approved by the parliamentary Legislative Committee and will be put to the vote at tomorrow's session of the National Assembly.

Most heated were the debates on the bill of meetings, rallies and demonstrations and the citizens' public associations bill, adopted at first reading at the previous session. Representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces and the Jurists for Law-Abiding State Association also took part in the debates. They insisted that these two bills should not be put forward for voting at tomorrow's session of the National Assembly.

They motivated their demand with certain nuances in the interpretation of some articles in the existing Constitution that grant citizens the right to meetings, rallies and associations, but do not contain provisions for passing such laws. The proposal made by the Union of Democratic Forces to put the two bills to the vote at the National Assembly after they are discussed at the national roundtable talks did not receive support. The MPs motivated their refusal pointing out that it is necessary to observe the procedure according to which bills adopted at the first voting are to be submitted to the National Assembly not later than a month.

The bill of granting academic autonomy to higher education establishments, the discussion of which was postponed by yesterday's session of the committee, was also approved. The variant moved today includes the proposals made by higher education establishments, scientific and other organizations, students' associations and citizens.

The bill amending the State and People's Control Law cancels some texts in the law that regulate the leading role of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] with respect to the bodies exercising state and people's control. They will work only under the control of the bodies of state power and administration.

A new moment in the bill is allowing those on which punitive measures are imposed to appeal against the decisions of control bodies.

The Income Tax Law will also be amended. It is proposed to exempt from taxes the monthly incomes of 120-140 leva and to improve the taxation of the different types and forms of incomes coming from activity outside the public sector, thus encouraging citizens to carry out individual and collective labour activity.

Assembly Session Opens; Agenda Adopted

AU2501085290

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0800 GMT on 25 January, with very poor reception, carries a 7-minute live relay of the opening of the 14th session of the Ninth National Assembly.

At 0800 GMT Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, opens the session and proposes the following agenda:

"1. Draft Law on Rallies, Meetings, and Demonstrations;

"2. Draft Law on Citizens' Public Associations.

"3. Draft Law on Material Responsibility for Damage Calculated in Foreign Currency.

"4. Draft Law on Amending the Law on State and People's Control.

"5. Draft Law on Amending [words indistinct].

"6. Discussion of normative acts [words indistinct]

"7. Draft Law on Academic Autonomy of Higher Educational Establishments.

"8. Report of the Parliamentary Commission on Studying the Issues Related to Constructing the Rila and Mesta Hydro Power Projects.

"9. Report of the Parliamentary Commission on [words indistinct].

"10. Information by the chairman of the National Assembly on the 1990 Legislative Activity Plan.

"11. Report by the chairman of the Council of Ministers on urgent economic measures.

"12. Election of a Permanent Commission on Youth Issues.

"13. Election of a Parliamentary Commission on Proposing Changes in the Committee on Television and Radio.

"14. Opinion of the Council of Ministers on the construction of the Belene nuclear power plant.

"15. Draft Law [words indistinct] on the Work of the National Assembly.

"16. Interpellation by People's Deputy Nikolay Khaytov, addressed to the chairman of the Council of Ministers on the closing down of the Asenovgrad Nonferrous Metals Plant.

"17. Interpellation by People's Deputy Blagovest Sendov, addressed to the chairman of the Council of Ministers, on construction of student dormitories and improving the students' living conditions."

After reading the proposed agenda, Todorov asks whether there are any additional proposals or objections. Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice, requests the floor and in a 2-minute speech presents her "remarks" on the draft law on the citizens' public associations.

Following Daskalova's speech, Stanko Todorov asks the National Assembly members to vote on the agenda "without the second item." The agenda is unanimously adopted, after which at 0807 GMT the live relay ends.

Law on Meetings

AU2501110190 Sofia BTA in English
1029 GMT 25 Jan 90

["Parliament Considers Measures for Stabilization and Democracy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—Bulgaria's economy in this decisive year is among the main topics of the 14th National Assembly session which started here today. The draft on urgent measures in this sphere, placed by the Government yesterday, was subject of a number of critical comments in the Parliament Commission on Socioeconomic Development, but as the problems' solution can not be postponed any longer, they are to be discussed in Parliament today.

The agenda read today at the opening envisages a report of the Council of Ministers chairman on this issue.

A number of draft laws will be considered, which expand the boundaries of democracy in this country's social life, a report on the Platform Commission on the construction of the large hydro-energy and hydro-technical projects "Rila" and "Mesta", etc.

In the agenda discussion Minister of Justice Svetla Daskalova withdrew the Draft Law on Social Associations of Citizens, subjected to serious criticism over the last days. She said that yet with the introduction of this document the need was stressed to elaborate a law about the political parties.

After stormy discussions the Draft Law on the Meetings, Rallies and Parades was put off. The main motive of the M.P.s was that the country today is facing an economic chaos. The avalanche of demands, the endless rallies, the demonstrations and strikes are sharply exacerbating the economic crisis and destabilizing the country. The speakers stressed that issues which have been amassed in a span of thirty or forty years cannot be now solved in a period of two or three months.

An agricultural worker from the region of Pleven said that if the chaos in the capital was to continue, the peasants will stop their provisions of products for this city.

A general of the National Army proposed that the future law will stop all political and other kinds of demonstrations near military objectives. According to him in these stormy times the Army should be protected from the influence of political parties and moods.

It was also proposed to forbid the strikes and demonstrations at the key economic projects, like for instance the nuclear power stations.

The mayor of Sofia said that in a number of European capitals the places of demonstrations and parades are strictly determined. It is inadmissible that a thousand or two thousand people will paralyze life in the large cities, he stressed.

It was also requested to forbid the raising of slogans of oppression and appeals for retribution with representatives of individual parties and movements, during demonstrations.

No-Confidence Vote on Politburo Alternate

AU2501084390 Sofia BTA in English 0805 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 (BTA)—A vote of political inconfidence was given to Petko Danev, alternate member of the Politburo of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] CC [Central Committee] and first secretary of the regional and municipal party committee in Varna. Accusations about the abuses in the party were addressed at him at a conference of the Varna Municipal Party Organization. He was not elected delegate to the congress and there is a proposal not to include him in leading bodies. He was raised to high party positions at the CC of the BCP Plenum on December 8 last year.

Last night the information emission of the Bulgarian Television showed a report about the disastrous state of the Varna Library. The report makers said that Petko Danev himself has exerted pressure upon them so as to keep them quiet.

Monarchists Call for Ex-King's Return

AU1701185090 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—Reluctantly or otherwise, a resident of Madrid has been recently reminded of his onetime capacity as king of the Bulgarians.

Today a newly established Democratic and Monarchist Party applied for registration in Plovdiv, Bulgaria's second largest city. The party plans to campaign for the restoration of the civil rights of his Royal Majesty Simeon II of Turnovo and of his family and for their return to this country.

On Thursday the ex-monarch, who has been living in Madrid since 1952, declined to comment on a Spanish TV report about his alleged contacts with Bulgarian Communist Party officials. According to the same report, the possibility to enlist the royal family's cooperation in the restoration of democracy in Bulgaria was mentioned at those contacts.

The Bulgarian Embassy in Madrid categorically dismissed this report, describing it as "political speculation and a product of sensationalist journalism". The denial identified his majesty as Simeon Borisov, his commoner name.

The former King Simeon, now 52, succeeded to the throne upon the death in 1943 of his father, King Boris III. Since 1946, when Bulgaria was declared a republic as a result of a referendum, Simeon has been living in exile.

Ex-King Simeon Comments

AU2401193190 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—Simeon II, king of Bulgaria until 1946, said in an interview for Radio Sofia's Domestic Service which was broadcast today that he would like to visit this country and to show it to his family.

He left Bulgaria at the age of nine and now lives in Spain. In the interview Simeon dismissed the rumours that he had visited this country incognito and said he had never sought entry through official channels. Asked whether he will accompany King Juan Carlos of Spain on the latter's forthcoming visit to Bulgaria, he answered laughingly: "It's an interesting idea."

Referring to a report which identified him as a "Spanish citizen," he said, "I am not Spanish and I have not adopted the citizenship of any other country. As far as I know, the People's Republic and the authorities did not strip me of my nationality in 1944."

The interview supplies details about Simeon's family, occupation and leisure interests. He said he was following closely developments in Bulgaria and that he read RABOTNICHESKO DELO and other Bulgarian newspapers. "We are informed, at least about the official policy line," he said.

The interviewer mentioned an idiom which has gained currency in Bulgaria: "To live like little Simeon," meaning to live affluently. The ex-monarch's reaction: "Very nice. I've heard about that but I think at this point there are other names which would be more appropriate as synonymous with the good life."

Concerning Todor Zhivkov's regime which fell on November 10, 1989, he said: "I think there are many other Bulgarians who would be of one mind with me on the matter. Personal regimes have never been quite positive, especially if they last for too long. I am inspired with hope by what is going on at the moment. We are following everything very closely."

He said he was convinced that Bulgaria can present a new image to the world and that its people can live better. This would require a constructive stand. Simeon denied having ever said that he would become a republican if Bulgaria becomes a Swiss-style republic, but he found it an interesting phrase. What matters most to him is that the regime be free and that Bulgaria be left to the will of the people. "Seeking one regime or another is no use. The point is that the people should finally have their say." Simeon is convinced that he can be useful for this country from abroad.

Christian Democrat Program Urges 'Perestroyka'

AU0501140590 Sofia BTA in English 1206 GMT 5 Jan 90

["Christian Democrats Want Church 'Perestroyka'"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 5 (BTA)—"The leaderships of the present churches are not in a position to carry out real reforms based on biblical principles because those dignitaries were installed in their offices at variance with biblical precepts and the ecclesiastical canons," says the programme of the Democratic Christian Movement which has been released for publication in the Bulletin of the BTA Courier Press Service.

According to the Christian Democrats, the years of atheist propaganda and the deliberate restriction of the influence of Christian ideas have resulted in loosening of morals and in a neglect of the rising generation's character training, in a rise of Bulgaria's crime rate. As opposed to the materialist doctrine, they put forward the Bible which "enshrines all democratic ideas guaranteeing social justice to society."

The Christian Democrats' programme demands the securing of opportunities for freedom of church activities. To this end, they suggest that the Constitution be amended to bring it in line with the international bill of human rights and with the international agreements signed by Bulgaria, that divine services be broadcast on radio and television, that Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension and other church festivals be declared public holidays and that the Committee for Religious Denominations be abolished. This change will enable the churches to elect their own leaders to replace the ones appointed so far by that committee, the Christian Democrats claim.

There are further demands to grant equal status to civil and church marriage and to baptism and civil birth registration, to restore to the church its confiscated real estate, etc.

Chief Mufti Gives Todorov List of Demands

AU2401191590 Sofia BTA in English
1729 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Demands of the Supreme Muslim Theological Council"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—Dr Nedyo Gendzhev, chief mufti of the Muslims in Bulgaria, called on Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, and handed him a memorandum whereby the Supreme Theological Council insists that the Religious Faiths Act be amended to guarantee the free and unobstructed exercise of the freedom of conscience and of the citizens' religious rights.

The memorandum demands the opening of a Muslim theological school, the completion of restoration work in some mosques and giving them back to believers for their religious rites, as well as the construction of new prayer-houses. The Supreme Theological Council wants to publish a periodical and religious literature and insists that believers be allowed to observe Ramadan and Kurban Bairam as public holidays. It seeks access to television and radio programme time for festival sermons and greetings, etc.

The governing body of the Muslim community wants all bodies and organisations to stop meddling in the community's internal religious affairs.

Orthodox Church Issues List of Demands

AU2401191790 Sofia BTA in English
1731 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Bulgarian Orthodox Church Wants Regulated Church-State Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—In an address made public at the round-table talks, the Bulgarian Patriarchate demanded constitutional guarantees for full religious freedom and freedom of conscience, regulated church-state relations and non-interference in ecclesiastical affairs.

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church wants that churches converted into museums revert to their former capacity and that churches and the monasteries get back the real estate, icons and church plate expropriated from them.

The church wants to have its own synodical printing office and charitable institutions restored.

New Religious Faiths Bill Draft Prepared

AU2401192790 Sofia BTA in English
1836 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—A draft has been prepared for a new religious faiths act rather than amendments to the one in effect, Mr Lyubomir Popov, deputy minister of foreign affairs and chairman of the Committee for Affairs of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Religious Denominations, told the BTA.

The draft differs from the existing law in all essential parts and is consistent with the international agreements signed by Bulgaria and more specifically with the Vienna concluding document.

It guarantees all citizens freedom of conscience and religion. All religious rites and practices can be performed absolutely freely. The denominations, being religious communities, are separated from the state and are all equal before the law.

Under the effective law, the denominations used to obtain legal recognition upon the endorsement of their statutes by the Council of Ministers or by an authorised deputy prime minister. Such body corporate status recognition was extended to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Muslim community, the Armenian Church and the Judaic community. The Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant denominations did not have their statutes endorsed and were not granted a body corporate status. One version of the draft law lays down that the denominations and their subdivisions apply for legal recognition to the law courts and, if turned down, have the right of appeal. This would solve a major problem which has been outstanding for years.

Under the new religious faiths act, the chairman of the committee would no longer be empowered to dismiss by an administrative procedure priests and other denominational officials.

The draft allows denominations to open educational institutions of their own.

Under the new law, the denominations would be able to operate hospitals, orphanages and hospices.

The draft documents have been sent to all denominations and to experts. They are invited to give their opinions, remarks and suggestions which will be taken into account when the draft is finally worked out. It will be submitted soon for consideration to the Council of Ministers.

Vidin BCP Organization Proposals Noted

AU2301211390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Fundamentally Renewed Party"]

[Text] The group on preparing the accountability-election conference of the Vidin Municipal Organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], which also works on proposals for the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress, proposes:

—To refrain from changing the party name. To assert in the Manifest of Democratic Socialism and the BCP Statute that the BCP is a democratic sociopolitical organization of similarly thinking people, that unites on a voluntary basis representatives of the workers class, agrarians, intelligentsia, students, and other social groups that are actively struggling for the construction of a human and democratic socialism and consider the Marxist-Leninist teaching to be their ideological platform.

—The BCP Vidin Municipal Organization supports the territorial-production principle of constructing the primary party organizations and adheres to guaranteeing the right of every Communist to decide what primary organization he wants to join.

—To restructure democratic centralism as the basic principle in the party's organizational structure and activity by strengthening democracy and restricting centralism. The mandate principle of party leadership must be introduced at all levels.

—In connection with the organizational structure, the BCP Vidin Municipal Organization proposes to abolish the BCP oblast committees, while the enterprise, combine, city, and village party committees are created on the basis of a decision of the Communists. The number of the payroll workers in those committees and their wages must be approved at conferences or general meetings. The membership fee must be 1 percent of the Communist's income, and at least half of it must remain at the disposal of the primary organization.

—The procedure of admitting new members must be simplified and all privileges stemming from social or party status must be abolished. The principle of declaring the property must be adopted in order to avoid deformations.

Further on Conference

AU2401223890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jan 90 p 4

[Ninko Gruev report: "Passions and Personal Conflicts"]

[Text] The sixth accountability-election conference of the Vidin Municipal Organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] continued almost 24 hours. It could hardly be said that it was a successful test of internal party democracy. I do not mean that it was not conducted in a fair manner. On the contrary, the floor was given to almost all of those who requested it. Their number was more than 60. However, the conference developed into a long discussion of the membership of the BCP Municipal Committee and the delegates to the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress. A very brief period (only about 2 hours) was devoted to the discussion of the report on the situation and tasks of the organization, and its political platform and opinion related to the future development of the BCP.

After the report, the delegates competed over who would take the floor first. Some wanted to settle personal accounts with some of the proposed members of the Municipal Committee, others, to score the corrupted members, and yet others, to insult honest and devoted Communists because they ostensibly were "nomenklatura members" and "Zhivkovites" who contributed to the country's economic and political ruin. There also were sober speakers, who maintained that the Municipal Organization cannot successfully develop if it does not enrich itself with the new ideas of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO), the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" Platform, and the Movement for Democratic Socialism. Passions developed precisely on this subject. Some participants calmly accepted this as a normal phenomena under conditions of pluralism of opinions. Others called for "throwing the factions out of the party," and "saving socialism." Political tension increased so much that some delegates demonstratively left the hall, others were stopped from talking, and the chairman barely controlled the conference.

Many delegates bitterly said that their time was wasted because the conference dealt with procedural and peripheral issues, rather than with essential and global problems. The order of the day is to find a way of overcoming the political crisis in the city and what methods and forms of restructuring must be utilized. There were many justified questions: Why has the municipal party leadership been idle since 10 November 1989 and not led the Communists to an attack? Why did it prefer to conduct a policy of wait and see? Was it because of their guilty conscience or because of their inability to adopt a correct political decision? Why did the leadership not interfere in the labor collectives that announced strikes or demanded to replace their managers? Why did the leadership not attend the rallies of the informal democratic forces and not begin a dialogue with them? Specific accusations were addressed at Dimitur Logofetov, first secretary of the BCP Municipal Committee, the secretaries, and the bureau, and they received a vote of no confidence. In short, in the last 3 months the municipal party organization was in a state of defense, and did not develop an attack. Many primary party organizations demonstrated political shortsightedness and inability to cope with the complex situation. Unfortunately, there was no honest and sincere self-criticism. Therefore, the criticism addressed at the party leaders was even more justified.

Perhaps the conference could develop in an essential direction if its leadership would have given it a different direction. If the conference had started its work with the discussion of the documents, the delegates could have produce more ideas, thoughts, and proposals related to restructuring in the city. Many unnecessary disputes could have been eliminated if the BCP Central Committee would have proposed earlier the Manifest on Democratic Socialism and the BCP Statute, and if RABOTNICHESKO DELO had published on time the platforms of the other ideological trends in the party. Then more specific proposals for the draft statute could have been made. Some of the delegates tried to do this, however, no essential dialogue about the future developed.

Thus, we can point out at least two basic weaknesses of the conference: First, it "got stuck" in the discussion of the membership of the new BCP Municipal Committee, at which, while a more or less successful selection was made, passions related to settling personal accounts developed. Second, the conference did not propose a profound platform on overcoming the political crisis in the city and eliminating the deformations in all spheres of economic and intellectual life.

BCP-Democratic Forum Platform for Action

AU2301172290

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 22 January on page 4 carries the 2,000-word "Action Platform of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)-Democratic Forum."

The platform demands rapid reform in the BCP and points out that "sluggish reforms will turn the BCP into an anachronism in a society that is quickly reforming itself." It proposes the following "immediate radical reforms in the BCP with the view to saving the party": "Removing democratic centralism and abolishing the ban on factions;" "disbanding party organizations in the Army, the People's Militia, the courts, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the investigation organs, and the mass media;" "immediately publishing the BCP budget and list of property;" and "asserting the right of party organizations to manage alone 70 percent of the membership fees." In addition, the platform makes the following demands: "to immediately relinquish all privileges related to leading party posts or past merits;" "to assert publicity of discussions, decisions, and documents, including the party archives at all levels;" and "preregistration of party members on the basis of the documents that will be adopted by the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress."

The platform of the BCP-Democratic Forum further declares support for "equality and cooperation between state, cooperative, and private property as an obligatory prerequisite for forming an efficient economy." It calls for the adoption of constitutional guarantees for "establishing equal rights and obligations of all Bulgarian citizens," and guaranteeing the freedom of conscience and religion.

Turning to international relations, the platform demands that "all states observe the Vienna and Helsinki agreements in their entirety." It calls for "the signing of bilateral and multilateral agreements between Bulgaria and the other Balkan and European states, which will regulate their relations, including those related to our and other states' nationality problems." In this context, the platform calls for the signing of "an emigration agreement with Turkey that, in addition to its economic benefits, will contribute to decreasing internal and international tension."

In conclusion, the platform appeals for the construction of a party "that could face the 21st century and make its contribution to constructing an independent, free, democratic, and prospering Bulgaria."

Stanishev Explains Need for BCP Reform

AU2401122790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Jan 90 pp 1, 4

[Article by Dimitur Stanishev, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee: "The Party's Historic New Task"]

[Excerpts] Bulgaria is going through a period of decisive changes that are of crucial importance for its present and future. For many years, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] led the country along a path that resulted in considerable progress being achieved compared with the prewar years.

At the beginning, immediately following 9 September 1944, we proceeded along our own path of development. I would even describe this path as a profoundly original, Bulgarian path of development, based on Georgi Dimitrov's idea about people's democracy as the specifically Bulgarian version of a political system aimed at the construction of socialism. Unfortunately, this idea could not be fully implemented. Another model, which I would call the adminstrative-totalitarian model, was subsequently established. The contradictions that accumulated were further exacerbated, the distortions further escalated, and became intolerable. As a result of this, Bulgaria, like some other socialist countries, finally faced a serious socioeconomic crisis.

This development was painful for numerous Communists of different ranks who suffered from it. They tried to change the situation by raising important questions, but the decisions adopted in this connection were halfhearted and actually remained unfulfilled.

On 10 November 1989, the party found the strength to overthrow the burden of totalitarianism with its own efforts. Had it not done so, the people would have paid for it with great sacrifices. The party was released once and for all from the hypnotic power of totalitarianism; the country became aware of its real situation and realized that in many respects Bulgaria was far removed from the ideals of socialism and from the development of the democratic and humanitarian trends of civilization. [passage omitted]

The socialist countries shared a common historical fate. The humanitarian ideas of socialism that inspired the people in their revolutionary struggles and creative development had become a force of attraction for millions of working people in the world. Nevertheless, they were deprived of real meaning in the course of their development. The socialist practice in the recent past alienated people from property and also from the ruling power, while the adminstrative government structures were alienated from the interests of the individual. Despite all the social gains that were achieved, the absence of real democratic control distorted the system of administration. The Stalinist model that was uniformly applied in all socialist countries caused great harm to the ruling Communist Parties. [passage omitted]

The BCP was also affected by this development. The canonization of certain Marxist-Leninist ideas and postulates in organizing inner-party life deprived the Communists of their creative share in determining the trends of party policy and paralyzed the mechanisms of self-control related to the party's policy trends. This actually led to the depolitization of rank-and-file party members. [passage omitted]

The crisis of socialism is a main topic of discussion in our country, as it is in other countries. There is hardly any other issue that divides the social forces, our public opinion, the Communists, and the young generation to the same extent as this question. We can neither avoid it, nor play it down on the basis of unfounded arguments that no phenomena of crisis whatsoever existed in the whole past system of socialism and in all spheres of socialist society. The BCP has openly discussed these phenomena in all documents and decisions adopted since 10 November 1989. [passage omitted]

It is precisely for this reason that the answer to the question— what are we renouncing and what should we ban forever from our ideological and political arsenal—has become particularly important and topical today. [passage omitted]

The BCP's renunciation of its constitutional status as a leading force in society provides the necessary prerequsites for promoting real and not fake democracy and political pluralism. [passage omitted]

One of the crucial issues is how to get used to and how to persuade the new generations, in particular, to accept totally different economic and political approaches. The efforts of introducing real economic incentives are obstructed by the traditional leveling mentality of broad strata among our population. The striving for democracy is combined with the striving for partially or entirely preserving the common security provided by the past development of socialism. Whenever the forthcoming reforms, which have not yet acquired their final form, threaten to upset the past stability, it is natural to expect a reaction, including concern about individual and national security.

For this reason, precisely, the BCP should restructure and turn into a new type of Marxist political organization, and it should clearly state its own goals and aspirations. [passage omitted]

All these questions are treated and resolved in the BCP draft documents—the draft statute and the draft BCP political declaration, which have been published and submitted for partywide and nationwide discussion. I fully support these documents.

The forthcoming 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress should be a congress of the party's fundamental restructuring and renewal, enabling the BCP to fulfill its new historical task, namely the construction of a democratic, socialist society in Bulgaria.

Democratic Socialism Movement Platform

AU2301163790

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 20 January on page 4 carries the 2,000-word "Platform of the Movement for Democratic Socialism." While in the paper the movement does not explain its precise relationship with the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), Aleksandur Tomov, member of the movement's Coordinating Council, has stated "that his movement is not a faction because 'he believes there is a realistic opportunity for a renewal of the Bulgarian Communist Party as a whole,'" and "this is what sets it apart from the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO), which declared itself a faction within the BCP."

The movement's platform begins by noting that "what Bulgaria needs now is a democratic and human socialism that denies both the administrative-command system and economic inequality and the domination by some people of others." It rejects "a return to private property monopoly," and asserts that "democratic socialism is based on the principles of freedom of personality, self-management by the people, a market economy, and political pluralism."

The movement rejects "the ideology and practice of Stalinism and neo-Stalinism and notes the absurdity of the attempts to impose socialism by force." At the same time it "rejects the appeals for abstract democracy."

The platform attributes special importance to "the character and manner of advancing toward democracy," and expresses the conviction that "this transition can be accomplished while preserving civic peace, without confrontations and conflicts between social groups."

On the subject of the Bulgarian economy, the Movement for Democratic Socialism asserts that "the main thing is to carry out a far-reaching reform in property relations, and create constitutional guarantees for the equal existence of state, municipal, cooperative, group, and private property, and for them to be integrated under different forms." In this context, the platform says that "the cooperative is the most vital alternative of state monopoly."

In a section on political affairs, the platform states that "we support the construction of a law-governed state that functions under the control of the people. It must be based on a parliament elected by the people, whose first task will be to adopt a new Constitution." In this context, the platform calls for the adoption of new laws on elections, parties, and freedom of speech as "guarantees of the irreversible character of the changes."

The last part of the platform deals with the image of the Bulgarian Communist Party. It points out that "today our society needs a renewed and reformed party, built on the positions of democratic socialism." In this context the platform points out that "this will be a party that will separate itself from the state and will struggle for a leading place in society through the convincing character of its program and its daily activity." The platform also emphasizes the necessity of "preserving unity." In conclusion, it is pointed out that "constructing the society of democratic socialism as an alternative to the administrative-command system is the most immediate and most urgent task that we are facing."

BCP Newspaper Editorial on 14th Congress

AU0501175790 Sofia BTA in English
1428 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 5 (BTA)—"We have left behind the time of a regime which ran counter not only to the people's will but also to the principal tendencies in the development of modern civilisation. The time behind us, however, is not limited to that regime, no matter how total its presence might have been. This was also a time of honest public and individual efforts, of democratic traditions still living in people's memory which have their legitimate place in Bulgaria's today and tomorrow. That is why we are now going through a difficult and often painful review when we have to part not only with abuses and political errors but also with delusions and illusions without impairing the faith, without shaking confidence in the values of socialism, without falling short of the expectations."

The quotation comes from an editorial in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO discussing the 14th BCP Congress due to open at the end of this month. The paper points out that the socialist civil society in Bulgaria is maturing vigorously, it is breaking with the authoritarian legacy and is seeking intransitory values and criteria. "The Communist Party is an integral and vital component of that emergent civil society. The impetus which the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] gives for deep-going restructuring of the entire political system depends directly on the party's capability to interact with the ever changing social environment, to benefit from the democratic aspirations for its own radical renewal," the paper writes.

Communists renounce the formal socialization of property, the merger of party and state, the neo-Stalinist model of the party, the reckless treatment of the environment. They embark on the road to pluralism in ownership and to intellectual plurality, to genuine democracy and political pluralism, towards turning the BCP into a party of democratic socialism.

"We renounce voluntarism, the command-and-administer models and methods, the illusions about automatic progress. We embark on the road of consistent democratization, public dialogue, nonviolence and national concord," RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes.

The paper points out that the 14th congress will bear the historic responsibility for the party's renewal, for turning it into a really new party. Without a radically renewed, essentially new BCP, the existence and the development of the socialist idea on Bulgarian soil will be called into question and, moreover, Bulgaria's transition to a really humane and democratic society will be jeopardized, and our people will confront unforeseeably harsh and dramatic events.

The paper calls for complete and final de-Stalinization of the party, for a new type of unity based on democratic debate and ideological pluralism, on various platforms, on a free and democratic ideological and political life. This will be a party which every citizen could join absolutely voluntarily, only of his own free will and persuasion, expecting no privileges whatsoever with respect to other citizens, a party of autonomous primary organisations safeguarded against the encroachments of bureaucratic directives. The renewed party should be Marxist and should stand up for its ideal of a society without exploitation, of a society of freedom and justice, of a society which guarantees human rights.

The 14th BCP Congress should discuss the most pressing problems of the overall crisis besetting Bulgarian society, it should tell the whole truth, it should identify the full responsibility of the former secretary general and his closest associates, it should pass a harsh indictment of the authoritarian and command methods of government, it should disclose the reasons for the errors and the abuses, and it should lay down a clear and realistic programme for the future. The congress should be in a position to elect a dramatically renewed Central Committee. "Continuity in the composition of the party's supreme governing headquarters should obviously be retained, but the majority of the members in this headquarters should be new people who have proved their readiness to fight for restructuring, for the party's break with Stalinism, for its rebirth to match the requirements of the time," the paper writes.

The congress should go down in history as the first BCP forum to hammer out a generally acceptable platform by democratic means which rallies the entire party and on the basis of which a further unity of action is ensured.

The paper points out that the command-and-administer system has kept most BCP members out of party life, and that "those thinking, knowledgeable and capable people could not in all conscience obey the nomenklatura and keep away from the political double-dealing and reckonings" and appeals that only the worthiest BCP members should be elected congress delegates. "Choose delegates from among the most authoritative and competent party members you know who can take a different view of the modern world and can analyse it, who dare and can take a stand against routine and inertia, who come up with alternative ideas and suggestions of their won," writes RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

"The hundreds of thousands of Communists and millions of Bulgarians pin their hopes on the congress proceedings. History will never forgive us if we squander the opportunities to revive the party, if we miss our chance," the newspaper says in conclusion.

Further on Draft Constitutional Amendment

AU2301152490 Sofia BTA in English
1435 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—As it has already been announced, on January 19, 1990, the commission elected by the National Assembly to draft a bill of amendment to the Bulgarian Constitution discussed and approved the proposed law of amending and supplementing the Constitution and decided to publish it for nationwide discussion and submit it to the National Assembly.

Only the most urgent partial amendments are laid down in the bill which will make it possible to hold free and democratic elections for the National Assembly, will grant freedom to economic activity, lend diversity to the forms of ownership, bring about changes in the political system, etc. Some amendments are proposed also in connection with Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution which were revoked at the previous session of the National Assembly held on January 15, 1990.

The all-round changes will be made when drafting Bulgaria's new constitution.

Bill Published

AU2401141690 Sofia BTA in English
1325 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Further De-ideologization for the Constitution"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Constitution will lose its ideological padding as a first and urgent condition for holding free and democratic elections in this country, for reforming the political system, for granting freedom to economic activity combined with different types of ownership.

The constitutional amendments bill published today plans to go further than the repeal of the BCP leading role guarantees, effected at the latest parliament session, and to revise the rest of Article 1 which now says that society is "headed by the working class." The suggested opening words of the Constitution (whose preamble would be scrapped) run as follows: "The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a socialist and democratic state committed to the rule of law."

Phases like "developed socialist society," "socialist acquisitions," "unity of power," "democratic centralism," "socialist democracy" and "socialist internationalism" would be deleted from the basic law.

The new version of Article 5 would read: "The main principles on which the political system of society is based and operates are: national sovereignty, democratism, humanism, legality and the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers."

The imperative provisions that children and young people should be educated by parents and society in a communist spirit and that "education is based on the achievements of modern science and the Marxist-Leninist ideology" would be dropped.

Article 53 would be redrafted to read: "The citizens are guaranteed freedom of conscience and creed. They may profess or adopt a religious faith of their own choice and perform religious rites and rituals."

The bill envisages the abolition of Paragraph 3 of Article 13, whereby "the economy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria develops as part of the world socialist economic system." The provision on the forms of state ownership gradually developing and drawing closer together to evolve eventually into a unified ownership of all the people would be deleted, too. Article 29, Paragraph 2 ("foreign trade is an exclusive right of the state") would also be omitted in the revised version.

Socialist market economy, promotion of all types of ownership, planning and economic regulation, inter-producer competition and wide-ranging international economic cooperation are listed as the basic principles on which economic activity would be organised and carried out in this country.

Chapter V—"State Council," is repealed in its entirety and a new one is introduced in its place entitled "President of the Republic." It vests broad powers in the president of the republic: to represent the state in the country and in its international relations. A president's tenure would be limited to two consecutive terms of office. He or she should meet the requirements set for a National Assembly member and should be at least 40 years old. The same chapter lays down the powers of the vice president of the republic.

The amendments would also affect the prerogatives and the functions of the National Assembly. The number of parliamentary seats is to be reduced from 400 to 300 and the National Assembly is to become a permanently operating body of state power. The time when it will not be in session will be within its own discretion.

According to the temporary provisions, those of the State Council functions which the bill does not vest in the president of the republic will be discharged by parliament. The State Council will exercise its powers until parliament elects a president and a vice president of the republic.

New State Council Decrees Cited

AU2401201790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jan 90 p 6

[DURZHAVEN VESTNIK "Extracts"]

[Text] DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No. 7 carries the following important decrees:

—Decree No. 101 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of 17 January 1990, on ratifying the European Agreement on International Railroads that was concluded on 1 September 1985 in Geneva.

—Decree No. 87 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of 12 January 1990, on releasing Mariy Antonov Ivanov from the post of first deputy minister of foreign affairs, according to his own request.

—Decree No. 106 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of 17 January, on appointing Georgi Aleksiev Nachev chairman of the Committee on Labor and Social Security at the Council of Ministers.

—Decree No. 105 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of 17 January 1990, on releasing Filip Borislavov Ishpekov from the post of Bulgarian ambassador to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

—Decree No. 56 of the Council of Ministers of 6 December 1989, on stabilizing production in the cement industry.

—Decree No. 1 of the Council of Ministers of 16 January 1990, on resolving certain urgent problems in Sofia city transportation. Special secondary or higher education will no longer be required for the drivers of buses, trolley buses, and street cars in Sofia as a prerequisite for receiving a third degree of qualification. The basic wages of the newly appointed drivers and service workers will be determined on the basis of the assessment of their places of work. The companies of the Sofia city transportation have been permitted to recruit drivers and other workers until the end of 1990 from Sofia and other regions, on the basis of 6-month contracts. Their wages will include the salary received from their permanent place of work and the full amount of the labor remuneration for their work in the city transportation system.

New BCP Journal Comes Off Press

AU2401191990 Sofia BTA in English 1748 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—The first issue of the SUVREMENEN POKAZATEL magazine—a publication of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], is coming off the press tomorrow.

The editorial headlined "The Revolutionary Transformation of the BCP Requires a Revolutionary Approach" is written by Mr Petur Mladenov.

Georgi Dimitrov's diary of 1934 will be published for the first time.

Tomorrow's issue runs letters and features on the restructuring, glasnost and pluralism in the party and society, different readers' views and the alternative ideological platforms Bulgarian Road to Europe and Alternative Socialist Association.

Marxist Organization Holds National Conference

AU2401132190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Jan 90 p 6

[Text] Sofia, 22 January (BTA)—Scientists, lecturers, graduate students, and students of philosophy, sociology, political economy, political science, and history have come to Sofia for the First National Conference of the Movement on Developing Marxism and Renewing Socialism. The agenda provides for discussion of a platform and the election of a National Coordination Committee. The movement adheres to Marxism, freed from the dogmas of Stalinism and elevated to the modern level.

The National Conference adopted a resolution that welcomes the idea of conducting national "roundtable" talks for exchanging opinions on topical issues of social development.

New Antifascist Organization, Trade Union

AU1201155190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jan 90 p 4

[Under the rubric: "Topical Events—5 January"]

[Excerpts] Our motherland is living through difficult days. We, the representatives of the antifascist forces, are ready, as we were in our younger days when we fought for the construction of a new society, to also defend our motherland's socialist achievements today. Therefore, we insist with particular emphasis that immediate personal responsibility should be sought from all those who are guilty of causing the difficult situation in which our people and state are involved today.

We are ready to engage in all forms of cooperation with party and non-party informal organizations, associations, and forums for the happiness and well-being of the Bulgarian people, for the prosperity of our innovated, democratic, socialist country—Bulgaria.

We state with profound regret that the Union of Fighters Against Fascism, which was created under Georgi Dimitrov's leadership in 1945, was eliminated and subsequently replaced by Todor Zhivkov by an organization consisting of local committees of active fighters against fascism and capitalism appointed by the party bureaucracy.

We call on you, dear militant comrades, to restore to our former union the name Union of Antifascist Forces in Bulgaria, which should include all veterans of the struggle against fascism.

We categorically declare that antifascists who have committed crimes against the people, have abused their official positions and have violated the socialist moral code, or who are involved in criminal or economic offenses, cannot be accepted as members.

The initiative committee proposes that the Union of Antifascist Fighters should be restored in the villages, districts, and municipalities, where associations should be established. We urge that the constituent meetings in villages, districts, and municipalities should close by 16 January 1990. The most worthy leaders should be elected for the unions and control councils by secret ballot, and delegates for a constituent conference of the union, scheduled to take place on 24 January 1990, should be elected as well.

Let us work consistently for building a strong, democratic, and active Union of Antifascist Forces in Bulgaria.

Signed: The Initiative Committee

Chairman: Grudi Atanasov

Secretary: St. Dolapchiev

[Passage omitted] In Gabrovo a branch of an independent national trade union of workers in the sphere of construction, architecture, urbanization, and communal economy was established under the name "Unity" ["Edinstvo"]. Its goal is to protect the professional interests of its members and to contribute to democratic social changes in the spirit of new political thinking and social pluralism. A national administrative council composed of nine people, with Khristo Enev as chairman, was elected. [passage omitted]

A political youth club was established in Sofia, attached to the Social Forum of Restructuring and Defense of Socialism. The club has adopted its programmatic document called "Platform." The club is based on the thesis that democratic and pluralistic socialism is the only possible alternative, and on this basis, the club wishes to rally young people, who, with honest means and constructive ideas, are willing to contribute to the renewal of socialism in Bulgaria. The club is ready to cooperate with the Komsomol and with independent youth organizations. The members have chosen declarations and appeals as their instruments for participating in political life. [passage omitted]

Alliance of Small, Medium Firms Forms

AU2401202390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] An Alliance of Small and Medium-Sized Companies was established in Sofia today. The alliance unites over 500 companies, irrespective of the spheres of their activity and forms of ownership—state, cooperative, municipal, or private, and is a corporate member of the Bulgarian Economic Industrial Association.

The aim of this new independent association is defined in the provisional statute and economic platform adopted today. The alliance will represent the interests of its members and will assist them in resolving important issues. It sets itself the task of defending its members against manifestations of monopolism and will assist companies in obtaining legal autonomy.

New Union of Resistance Fighters Founded

AU2501090490 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—A National Constituent Conference was held yesterday of the Union of the Resistance Fighters, heir of the union, founded by Georgi Dimitrov in June 1946.

The command and bureaucratic system brought the country to a grave economic, political and cultural crisis, created a chaos in society and established a regime which was based on oppression, outrage and terror, said in his report Grudi Atanasov. In the years of the totalitarian regime, he stressed, that over 1,800 resistance fighters were repressed, put to trials, interned.

In the statements it was said that the major aim of the union is to promote actively to Bulgaria's turning into a free, democratic and socialist state.

The union is assessed as a voluntary, mass and democratic organization of the former participants in the antifascist struggle and the people who had suffered by fascism. No resistance fighters who have committed violence against the people and have abused with their positions, broken the socialist moral or committed economic, political and criminal offenses can be members of this union.

After a long consideration of the candidatures the delegates elected leading bodies of the union: a Central Council and a Control and Auditing Commission. Krum Radonov was elected chairman of the Resistance Fighters Union.

Faults in National Energy System Criticized

AU2401180390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Jan 90 pp 1,4

[Krasimir Tsigularov article: "The Energy Industry: Time for Doubts"]

[Excerpts] The editorial office received a telephone call from Iliya Iliev, who lives in the Sukhata Reka district of Sofia. He was worried by the report that the water supply is being interrupted for a certain time in several districts, including his own. "If there is no water, the steam central heating will stop," I. Iliev told me. "The electricity supply is also cut off from time to time. Where am I to take my children so that they are warm?" [passage omitted]

If such complaints are confirmed, they simply deserve no comment, because the situation is shameful and sad. However, there are many other questions that warrant comment. I have in front of me the statistical almanac for 1988. Unfortunately, I have no later edition available. In the column headed "Capacities of Electric Power Plants for Communal Use," the figure of 10,743 megawatts is recorded. A strange figure, because the generating capacity of our nuclear power plant is not 2,260, but 2,760 megawatts. This means that the installed capacities amount to 11,243 megawatts at the minimum. (It is not mentioned whether factory thermoelectric power plants are included). On 11 January, RABOTNICHESKO DELO published a report entitled "Cost of the Omissions." In an interview with Dimitur Sokolov, deputy chairman of the Committee on the Energy Industry, it was stated that the winter electricity consumption is about 8,600 megawatts, while the power workers at that time provided 7,600. Is something missing in these figures? What is missing is that which we need so much today with the electricity rationing that has been introduced, namely a standby capacity in the energy system. This in fact is not lacking on paper, but it includes thermal power stations that cannot be heavily loaded or are not provided with fuel. It also includes hydroelectric power plants whose dams have not provided enough water for many years. It also covers materials that have not been provided, and repairs that have not been carried out or are incomplete. We also have to add the losses in the transmission network (which, according to statistics, are 10.9 percent of the energy fed into the long-distance power lines). In addition, one has to allow for the energy consumed at the plants for their own requirements, namely 10.2 percent, a figure that has shown a tendency to rise in recent years. One should also mention the basic funds invested in the energy industry—7,550 million leva in 1987 (as against 3,820 million in 1980), and the fact that the productivity of an energy industry worker in 1987 was 87.1 percent of the figure for 1980.

Anyone capable of thinking clearly will understand what these figures hide: The simple truth is that the industry is in a state of crisis, the energy balances are "out of control," and the light in our houses depends on the caprices of fortune, and this year fortune is no joke for us. I think that such a far-reaching disorganization of a branch of industry is indicative of the kind of team that is in charge of it. The serious fault in the system in 1978 caused direct losses of 60-70 million leva (at the prices of the time). Does anyone know what the losses will be this winter from the compulsory consumption restrictions in industry and the repairs that have proved necessary in the energy sector? [passage omitted]

The reasons for the present situation lay at many levels, and have accumulated over many decades. We need to know the truth about this past today in order to know exactly where we stand, why we are here, and where we should go now. I am unlikely to surprise anyone if I say that we face difficulties from this point on. We depend on chance, and every cold spell catches us by surprise. [passage omitted]

The energy industry has become part of the political struggle in our country. I would end by noting that it is not right to cast the blame on the thousands of people who work in our electric power plants, or on those ordinary people who are now exhausted from the tension in Kozloduy, from the work of repairing the fault, and from duty on the control boards of the working reactors. [passage omitted]

I feel called upon to add that now is the time for us to show our displeasure, except that displeasure is too mild an expression, and it costs us nothing. We have grown used to explanations that solve nothing, so the time has come to show distrust. I insist on a precise, clear, and competent analysis today. I insist on a forecast and an intelligent search for a way out of the crisis. Mechanically increasing capacities in recent years has not cured the energy crisis. This means that the problems can no longer be solved by a narrow circle of ministry officials. We want to know the truth, and the names of those who can change things and are equal to the job. Anything else is empty sophistry.

Ecoglasnost Protests Belene Nuclear Plant

AU2401194990 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—A petition with another 30,000 signatures against the construction of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant were presented to the National Assembly by representatives of the Ecoglasnost Independent Association from all over the country.

At the rally before the Parliament several speakers pointed out that the construction was started without consulting the population and in contravention to the ecological findings of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

An opinion was expressed that the construction of the nuclear plant is an offence against the law and that the over-1000 megawatt nuclear reactors are insufficiently reliable.

In its petition Ecoglasnost insists on discontinuing the construction of the Belene nuclear plant, making public the data about the background radiation, on the National Assembly's passing of a protection and regeneration of the environment bill, etc.

Medical Workers Strike in Pleven

AU2401125290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] After a warning strike on 24 January, 250 medical workers and drivers at the Emergency Ward of Pleven's hospital announced a real strike. It will continue until 1300 [1100 GMT]. Only children and emergency cases will be treated until then.

A declaration issued by the collective points out that the Ministry of People's Health and Social Welfare is incapable of resolving the exacerbating problems of health care in Bulgaria, and thus it is unworthy of the workers' confidence. The medical workers demand just wages and participation in resolving the problems that directly affect them.

18 Jan Events Throughout Country Noted

AU2301172390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jan 90 p 6

[BTA report: "18 January—Topical Chronicle"]

[Text] Sofia, 18 January—A news conference took place at Sofia's People's Council in which members of the Initiative Committees of the "Zemlyane" and "Druzhba" automobile enterprises, and the trade unions and leadership of the Sofia People's Council, took part. Mass media representatives were briefed on the present state of the conflict between the workers of the "Zemlyane" and the Executive Committee of the Sofia City People's Council. The conflict arose because of the demands of the drivers and service workers to improve the conditions of labor and wages and resolve the collective's social problems.

Pencho Penev, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sofia City People's Council, briefed the participants on the measures that have been adopted, which are expected to avert the real strike, scheduled to begin on 22 January. Those steps are related to creating a legal basis of fully satisfying all demands.

Sofia, 19 January—Today at the club of the Hunters-Fishers Union on Vitosha Street No. 31-33, the first meeting of the Independent Union of Bulgarian Women, established in December, will take place. The idea that unites its founders is guaranteeing the legal defense of women, families, and children, and facilitate the resolution of many social problems and the change of certain obsolete legal documents. The union will be a voluntary organization.

Sofia, 18 January—The Executive Committee of the Central Leadership of the "Erevan" Cultural-Educational Organization of the Armenians in Bulgaria, and the Diocese Council of the Armenian Church in Bulgaria have handed the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria an appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet in which concern is expressed for the events in Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Sofia, 18 January—The Union of Pilots has announced a warning strike on 22 January at 0600 [0400 GMT]. The strike will begin if by that time the Sofia City People's Council and the Council of Ministers have not resolved the issue of the pilots' housing and given the appropriate guarantees. The employees of the sanitary unit will have a symbolic strike.

If this important issue is not resolved by 22 January, after 4 hours the Union of Pilots, the independent trade unions of the engineering-technical employees, and the Union of Air Hostesses will announce a new strike on 27 January. It will continue until the demands are fully satisfied.

Plovdiv, 18 January—The faculty of the "I.V. Pavlov" Higher Medical Institute continue their strike for the second day. The strike was organized by the "Podkrepa" Independent Bulgarian Trade Union at the institute. It is a real strike, and the basic claim is that "the faculty of the institute have been crudely discriminated in comparison with their colleagues in Sofia's Medical Academy and receive much lower wages. Thus the principle of equal wages for equal labor has been violated."

Today the strikers organized a protest rally in front of the building of the municipal people's council. A telegram to the chairman to the chairman of the National Assembly, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the minister of finance, and the minister of people's health and social welfare was read.

The strike is acquiring alarming dimensions because the employees of the regional stomatology clinic in Plovdiv and the stomatology departments of First and Second Workers' Clinics and Second and Fifth City Hospitals have joined the strike. Almost all other health protection establishments in the city are conducting a symbolic strike.

Veliko Turnovo, 18 January—The health protection plight of the people—this is the reason that prompted more than 350 medical doctors, doctors' assistants, and nurses from Veliko Turnovo to sign a petition that expresses nonconfidence in the leadership of the Ministry of People's Health and Social Welfare.

Stara Zagora, 18 January—The Communists, members of the Alternative Socialist Association Fraction of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the "Road to Europe" Platform founded an "Alternative Ideas" Club. It unites Communists who oppose the Stalinist model of the party and the totalitarian system.

Vidin, 18 January—Today an impressive rally took place in front of the "Festivalna" Hall. It was organized by the local council of the Union of Democratic Forces. The local council unites the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the Independent "Civic Conscience" Club, the "Peasant Conscience" Associations of Gradets Village, the Independent "Podkrepa" Labor Federation, and others.

The speakers and the posters raised at the rally categorically demanded to implement real and immediate changes not only in the higher echelon of the Bulgarian Communist Party, but also in the lower echelon and the state administration. The announcement that Todor Zhivkov, the main culprit for the situation in which the country finds itself, has been arrested and will be sentenced was greeted with stormy applause.

19 Jan Events Throughout Country Noted

AU2301134590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Jan 90 p 6

[BTA reports: "19 January—Topical Chronicle"]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 19 January—A United Democratic Center [Obedinen Demokratickeski Tesntor] was founded in Sofia. It called upon the radically thinking and constructively acting citizens who have new ideas and a high sense of responsibility, regardless of their sex, age, education, and party, trade union, ethnic, and religious affiliation, to unite their forces on the basis of a professionally constructed program of adapting our nation to the modern civilized society and the higher human achievements. [passage omitted on founding a branch of the Alternative Socialist Association in Sliven and a branch of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" Platform in Mikhaylovgrad]

Asenovgrad, 19 January—The establishment of a "Unity" Fund by the "Muslims" section of the Independent Association on Defense of Human Rights in Asenovgrad was the first material step toward supporting the National Assembly declaration on the unity of the nation. The fund will support the social enterprises of the Bulgarian Government, related to the activity for national unity and developing the territories with a mixed population.

The means will be acquired through voluntary labor, voluntary contributions, and charity. Three accounts in leva, rubles, and U.S. dollars have been opened at the "Mineralbank" Bank for Economic Initiatives. [passage omitted on the establishment of a Green Party branch in Ruse and "Democracy" Club in Lovech]

Journalists Express Solidarity With Talev

AU1701110190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] All of us journalists on the Sofia Radio midday newscast express our solidarity with the declaration of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists in defense of our reporter in Kurdzhali, Georgi Talev. Therefore, we shall begin our newscast with a telephone conversation with him. We believe and shall continue to believe the credibility of his reports. Let me begin with a question about the situation in Kurdzhali.

[Georgi Talev] The situation in Kurdzhali, as can be expected, is normal. All enterprises are functioning. However, for reasons that are well known, there are many difficulties related to the shortage of materials and raw materials. The trade system is functioning properly and in a disciplined manner. Agricultural workers are engaged in their daily activities, mostly, preparing the tobacco production campaign. This morning when I came to work I noticed that there were long queues at the bus stations and I thought that perhaps a new transportation strike had begun. However, it seems that in this sphere also everything is functioning normally. These are simply the familiar winter difficulties.

[Announcer] What is the reaction of your colleagues to the declaration of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists?

[Georgi Talev] What can I say? I do not know how the people in Kurdzhali are reacting, because the newspapers usually arrive here late, and most of the people have not read about it. Unfortunately, I could not hear the report read in the TV evening newscast, but I think that something is unclear. As far as my colleagues are concerned, the local association of the journalists will have a meeting today at 1500 [1300 GMT] to discuss the document. What do I expect? To be frank, I am not thrilled with this hurried act. It reminds me of certain practices in the past, but let us wait. Time will tell.

[Announcer] We shall continue to follow the development of events with your assistance. As I said at the very beginning, we add our voice to yours. I must add a paradoxical fact: I myself and my colleagues, who during the hot days after 29 December received the even more heated telephone calls from our listeners, are saying to ourselves: Did most of those calls not come from Kurdzhali? Did they not contain the insistent demand to broadcast more information from Kurdzhali? It appears that many people have understood this information as a biased report of the facts. Thank you, we shall keep in touch.

Further on Talev

AU2201113290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jan 90 p 6

[BTA report: "Response to Open Letter"]

[Text] Kurdzhali, 17 January (BTA)—A meeting of Kurdzhali's Journalists Association today discussed the open letter from the committee in charge of preparing the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists to Colonel Vulcho Peev, head of the Kurdzhali Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and sent in connection with the psychological harassment and threats of violence against Georgi Talev, Bulgarian Radio reporter in Kurdzhali.

After a lively discussion, the Association of Journalists in Kurdzhali unanimously expressed the opinion that it categorically disassociates itself from the anonymous and open attempts to denounce the civic and professional position of the Bulgarian Radio correspondent. Simultaneously, it was pointed out that the Bulgarian Radio is called upon to be a tribune of all Bulgarian people, rather than carry a biased interpretation of the events.

In connection with the open letter, Col. Vulcho Peev, head of the Kurdzhali Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, told a BTA correspondent: "We have an open telephone line for all citizens, for their tipoffs, complaints, and worries. However, until today the reporter of Bulgarian Radio has not filed an oral or a written complaint about threats to his safety. Nevertheless, as is also the case with all other citizens, we are taking the necessary measures to ensure his personal safety and civic inviolability."

TV Reports Zhivkov's Whereabouts

AU2101154390 Sofia BTA in English 1452 GMT 21 Jan 90

["Where Is Todor Zhivkov Now"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 21 (BTA)—Last night it was broadcasted on TV that Bulgaria's former leader Todor Zhivkov according to the "remand in custody" warrant is as from January 19, in a place, specially adjusted for the purpose and due investigative actions are undertaken. This specification was made after instructions by the minister of internal affairs, fifteen minutes after a remark made by one of the interlocutors in the Panorama survey emission. He expressed doubts that on January 19 Todor Zhivkov had still been in his personal villa in Boyana, a villa quarter of Sofia.

Dissident Writer's 'Mysterious' Death Viewed

AU2401150690

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 21 January 1990 carries on page 5 a 1,800-word article by London correspondent Nenko Seymenliyski, entitled: "Delayed Report on A Mysterious Death," in which he describes the circumstances under which Georgi Markov, a well-known Bulgarian writer and dissident who lived in London as an exile, died in 1978. The article is preceded by the following introductory passage:

"Until 1978, the British dailies hardly seemed to devote any space to Bulgaria. The situation drastically changed when in the autumn of 1978 our country's name was mentioned daily in the newspapers and this situation persisted for several months. The event in question was related to the mysterious 'umbrella story' which, as a matter of fact could have been invented by a famous mystery writer, such as John Le Carre, Agatha Christie, or Ian Fleming."

Seymenliyski describes the events around Markov's mysterious death in detail, providing facts from the medical evidence of the London hospital doctors who treated Markov during his brief, mortal illness. The author points out that the investigations of the British police were based on the hypothesis of murder, because "the police authorities were convinced that real reasons existed for such hypothesis." The arguments of the police were based on the fact that Georgi Markov, who left Bulgarian in 1969, "worked for BBC and wrote numerous articles and reports for this radio station, as well as for Radio Free Europe, and Deutsche Welle, presenting the political leadership of the epoch and numerous figures of Bulgarian cultural life in a rather unfavorable light."

Seymenliyski adds that "Markov's articles were based on personal impressions of his career as a young writer, when he enjoyed Todor Zhivkov's benevolence," and that he intended to publish his articles in a book.

In further reporting on the investigations, which failed to detect any trace of a murderer, Seymenlyiski factually describes the various speculations expressed in Western media about Markov's death, some of them attributing it to East European secret services, others to the CIA. The author himself does not voice any opinion, or personal comment, and closes the article with the following passage:

"The mystery remains unresolved to this very day. No traces of poison, of an umbrella, or of a murderer were ever discovered, not even a witness was found. Nevertheless, the accusation which is hanging 'like an umbrella' over the heads of all Bulgarians who happen to be in London for some reason or other remains. Some people mentioned other versions of the cause for Georgi Markov's mysterious death. In the heat of the 'cold war' the forces of anticommunism may have been searching for arguments to escalate tension by eliminating a 'dissident' in order to accuse the Bulgarian authorities of his death. The British commentators usually rejected this version, by exclaiming: 'Come on, we have heard enough about the CIA!' Nevertheless, times have changed today and confidence among the peoples is increasing along with the rates of current changes in the East European countries. Perhaps, the time has come to reveal the truth about Georgi Markov's death, which British people consider 'one of the most unpleasant symbols of the cold war.'"

Dimitrov Views Relations With Turkey

AU2401194790 Sofia BTA in English
1906 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Bulgaria Seeks New Beginning in Relations With Turkey"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—Mr Boyko Dimitrov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, said today that the changes in Bulgaria create favourable conditions for a new beginning in Bulgaro-Turkish relations and for their steady promotion on an equal footing.

Briefing the National Assembly Standing Commission on Foreign Policy on the Bulgaro-Turkish meeting in Kuwait, the chief Bulgarian diplomat stressed the need to overcome the mistrust which has built up between the two countries. He assessed in positive terms the self-critical tone of the Turkish side and the assertion that Turkey has no territorial designs against Bulgaria.

Along with that, Mr Dimitrov voiced concern over the pan-Turkish statements of the Turkish minister of state Mr Ercument Konukman concerning Bulgaria and other countries neighbouring on Turkey. Such actions can complicate the further normalisation and development of Bulgaro-Turkish relations, says the commission's resolution on Mr Dimitrov's briefing.

The Foreign Policy Commission deems it necessary that the Bulgaro-Turkish dialogue should be pursued on the principles of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-use of force or threat of force, and peaceful settlement of disputes.

The M.P.'s were also briefed by Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign economic relations, who discussed the fairly good promotion of business contacts with the socialist countries. The trade is balanced with that group of countries, and despite Moscow's difficulties, the import of vital raw and prime materials and fuels from the USSR has been secured.

Last year was no better than the previous ones for Bulgaria's economic cooperation with the West. It saw a retained downward tendency in exports to that part of the world which approximated to half the amount exported in the early 1980's, the minister said.

Mr Khristo Khristov said that Bulgaria was prepared to pursue business relations with the European Community, with GATT and the International Monetary Fund, to activate its ties with the collective business bodies and to normalise its trade relations with the Unites States, South Korea, the ASEAN countries and Israel.

USSR Machine Building Minister Visits

AU0901203790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 6 Jan 90 p 2

[Text] Sofia, 5 January (BTA)—Vladimir Velichko, USSR minister of heavy machine building, is visiting Bulgaria. Today he was received by Mincho Yovchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of industry and technology. Issues related to further developing and improving cooperation between Bulgaria and the USSR in the sphere of machine building were discussed.

A memorandum on the talks was signed today.

Demonstration Against Soviet Troops Organized

AU2401194190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "Apropos the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops From Olomouc"]

[Excerpt] Olomouc—Students from Palacky University are organizing a demonstration which will take place in Horni Square in Olomouc on Sunday 28 January at 1400 in support of the withdrawal of Soviet troops and their families. The concentration of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in this district is one of the largest in the CSSR—perhaps around 20,000 people, including civilian employees and the soldiers' family members. Approximately 1,500 apartments will thus be vacated in the district; some of them will be used to house nurses and hospital workers, and others, obviously, will be used to house soldiers from the Czechoslovak People's Army who have been withdrawn to Olomouc from our western borders. Other Soviet premises will be vacated and used to benefit education and health care. By the end of May, the Prokop Holy Barracks will also be vacated. [passage omitted]

Students Hold Rally

LD2401203190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] The abolition of military studies departments at universities and public discussion of the amendments to the defense law were demanded today by participants at a rally on the Old Town Square in Prague. The organizers of the event, the Students' Parliament, pointed out that they see the bill on shortening basic military service to 18 and 9 months as a first stage, consistent with the present situation in Europe. The problems of alternative military service were also referred to, as was the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

AFP Report

AU2401182090 Paris AFP in English 1806 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 24 (AFP)—Some 3,000 young Czechoslovaks demanding that the Soviet Union pull all its troops out of Czechoslovakia demonstrated here Wednesday, an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent said.

Students, pacifists, actors and a handful of uniformed soldiers joined the demonstration in a central square.

Student member of parliament Jan Bubenik read our a statement made in parliament Tuesday by independent deputy Michael Kocab demanding an immediate Soviet troop withdrawal.

Soviet soldiers have been stationed here since they marched into Czechoslovakia in 1968 to crush the Prague Spring reform movement.

The demonstrators also demanded that Czechoslovakia reduce compulsory military service from two years to one year.

Several demonstrators appealed to the Civic Forum democracy movement to stage a mass demonstration to support the parliamentary moves to obtain a Soviet pullout.

Another demonstration is planned Sunday in Olomouc, Moravia, where there is a large Soviet garrison.

Prague and Moscow are to resume talks next month on a schedule for the pullout of Soviet troops. But Prague is pushing for the talks to be brought forward so an agreement can be struck when Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel visits Moscow early in February.

The demonstrators demanded that military service be reduced to one year, although a bill has been proposed to cut it from two years to 18 months.

Students at the demonstration also demanded an end to military classes in universities, which currently take up some 600 hours over two years.

Date for Soviet Troop Pullout Talks Not Set

LD2401180290 Prague CTK in English 1653 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 24 (CTK correspondent)—The date for the second round of Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia has not yet been set but both sides agree that the 2nd round should start soon and the sides should reach concrete results as quickly as possible.

The first round of the talks was held in Prague from January 15.

Head of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry's first territorial department Zdenek Cerny, who has been holding talks on this question here since Tuesday, did not rule out that the second round will not only be started but will produce an agreement on the withdrawal of troops still before the visit to Moscow by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. The date of the visit has not been specified.

Cerny said Czechoslovakia had proposed to resume the talks January 25 January 26 while the Soviet side kept to the earlier agreed date in the first week in February. The talks will take place in Moscow with Deputy Foreign Ministers Ivan Aboimov and Evzen Vacek taking part.

According to Zdenek Cerny, Soviet diplomats have been reproaching the Czechoslovak side for too much haste. The Prague talks revealed that they themselves take into account the course of the Vienna talks on conventional forces and arms cuts in Europe. Nevertheless their readiness and goodwill to achieve quick results are clear, Zdenek Cerny told CTK.

Havel Receives Swiss Ambassador 24 Jan

LD2401152990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] In Prague Castle today, President Vaclav Havel received Serge Francois Salvi, ambassador of the Swiss Confederation to Czechoslovakia. The ambassador conveyed to the president an invitation from Swiss President Arnold Koller to visit Switzerland. Vaclav Havel received the invitation with thanks.

Student Death Protested at Libyan Embassy

LD2401162590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Almost 200 foreign students and their teachers held a demonstration in front of the Libyan Embassy in Prauge to protest the death of one of their Ethiopian fellow students, who was fatally injured by a Libyan national in the International Hotel last weekend.

4 Libyans Disrupt Demonstration

LD2401184190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] About 200 foreign students held a demonstation in front of the Libyan Embassy building in Prague today against the death of one of their Ethiopian fellow students from the agricultural high school. He died as a result of injuries caused to him by a Libyan national in a brawl at the International Hotel.

The students and their teachers presented embassy staff with a resolution, and then, in a disciplined manner, conveyed their protests and requests that the culprits should be punished according to CSSR law.

However, the calm proceedings were disrupted by a provocation by four Libyans. Members of the National Security Corps managed to apprehend these provocateurs. They will be held in custody for questioning, among other things, on suspicion of murder, because they had a blood-stained knife on them.

Renewal of CSSR-Israeli Ties Viewed

AU2501092890 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 23 Jan 90 p 5

["(VOD)"-signed commentary: "CSSR-Israel: At a Fast Pace"]

[Text] So, only a couple of weeks remain until diplomatic ties are established with Israel. Czechoslovak foreign policy has changed so perceptively that it has ceased to see things in black and white—and Israel is the most symbolic example. Suddenly, from the last wisps of the fog of our formerly ideologized international relations, the real Israel is again emerging—away from being the proxy of all that is evil—toward being a solid and friendly partner.

However, in reference to what has been mentioned above, it is necessary to state clearly: Israel has not changed, only our attitude toward it has changed—a stance which, until recently, was weighed down by pact policy, by politicking, and by the prejudices of those who made decisions.

The visit made by Shim'on Peres, Israeli vice prime minister, was the last springboard toward correcting the mistake that our diplomacy—however, not completely of its own volition—made in 1967. Although we are not the first East European state to put relations with Israel back on the right track, we can, at least, state that we are the fastest to do so. In a couple of weeks Israeli foreign minister Arens will arrive and the renewal of diplomatic ties will become a fact.

It is possible to ask: What will come of this? Apart from us, the Israelis—along with the Arabs—can also pose this question.

From our point of view everything is clear. But if we leave aside matters so commonplace as the moral purge of our Middle East policy and, without a doubt, the promising economic possibilities, then secondary, but not unsubstantial, gains become apparent. These involve experiences which we want to gather. Whether they are in the political systems, which could be similar (Peres to Calfa: "Be careful, in our country we also have many small parties and after the elections we did not know exactly who had won."), or the economy: Israel is interesting in that the state manages a large part of industry. And as far as agriculture is concerned, the kibbutz system is, in many respects, a model one.

The Israelis can also easily answer the question on what new ties with the CSSR will bring them. Again there will be economic possibilities. First and foremost, however, they can cross off another country from the list of adversaries since it has become a partner.

Perhaps it will be the most difficult for the Arabs to find an answer—this will depend on their realism. However, Czechoslovakia has not gone through a wild turnaround; it has merely set matters on the correct course. If in the past its Middle East policy was unjustly unilateral, now it will be justly bilateral.

Dalai Lama's Visit Postponed Until Feb

AU2301203190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "Dalai Lama in February?"]

[Text] Prague—The visit of the Tibetan spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, to Czechoslovakia will probably take place 3-4 February 1990.

Prague TV Interviews Foreign Minister Dienstbier

LD1812225789 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2110 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by unidentified correspondent "during his visit to Bratislava"; date and place not given—recorded; Dienstbier recorded in Czech]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Minister, how would you describe the main aims of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy for the future?

[Dienstbier] For the time being I would merely say that it is going to be an open policy, a policy of openness toward Europe and the world. The fundamental change probably lies in the fact that Czechoslovakia's foreign policy has so far been an obstacle to developing the policy of the European home, while Czechoslovakia's new foreign policy ought to be the initiator of that process.

[Correspondent] Yes, a lot is being said about restructuring or improving the Czechoslovak foreign service. What do you have lined up for the future in that respect?

[Dienstbier] That is, in my view, a long-term matter because people will have to be trained for the foreign service. But I think that even today there are a lot of qualified people at the Foreign Ministry, so the mechanism of the Foreign Ministry is operating. Of course, we will have to make some new appointments in some of the political posts; for example, my predecessor recalled 30 ambassadors, and we will have to make new appointments to those posts. We intend to start out from the fundamental principle of qualifications. Everyone will be able to apply for posts in the foreign service regardless of their political views or convictions; if they can demonstrate their knowledge to the commissions during their interviews, they can be accepted into the foreign service.

[Correspondent] You mentioned the replacement of ambassadors. In this context many viewers have telephoned or written to us asking for specific details. Can you tell us these at the moment?

[Dienstbier] I mention this only because this news has also appeared in the newspapers. Otherwise I do not consider it appropriate to name the ambassadors who have been recalled, because they have not yet been recalled de facto; they are still representing Czechoslovakia abroad, and therefore we cannot undermine them in this way.

[Correspondent] All right. Recently you had a meeting, and it was your first visit, with Austrian Foreign Minister Mock. Where are your steps going to take you, If I can speak figuratively, in the immediate future?

[Dienstbier] My plan is first to visit our neighboring countries, in other words, Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, the FRG, and the GDR, since I have already been on Austrian territory. In March the Austrian Foreign Minister will visit Prague. A visit is being planned to Bonn at the end of January, or the beginning of February, because I have an invitation from Hans-Dietrich Genscher. In the next few days I am going to visit Moscow, then Warsaw, and Budapest.

[Correspondent] Thank you for the interview, Mr. Minister.

Laid-off Miners Receive Compensation

AU0901150790

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 28 December on page 4 carries a 1,000-word interview with Doctor Julius Homola, director of the section of labor at the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs of the Slovak Socialist Republic, by Pavol Komar, entitled "Sensitively Toward Sensitive Problems." In the interview, the date and place of which are not specified, Homola provides details on the "law on the special miners' benefit" which the CSSR Federal Assembly passed on 13 December. Homola says that the law reacts to the planned cutbacks in the production of coal and "radioactive ores," which will have a "serious impact on the social status and standard of living" of miners. The aim of the "special benefit" is to "eliminate or alleviate" the difference between the old and new earnings of miners who are transferred from work underground or laid off. According to the current concept of employment in the uranium and coal industries, "in the Ninth and Tenth 5-Year Plans the law will apply to around 7,900 workers in uranium mines; in the coal basins, it will apply to around 7,300 workers in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and to 5,300 workers in the Tenth 5-Year Plan."

Homola says that both the amount and the time of payment of the special benefit will be differentiated according to the length of work underground and the type of work performed there. The highest benefit—Kcs1,900 a month for a period of up to 46 months—can be claimed by miners who have spent at least 15 years working underground in "professions of the first category" (which includes rock-breakers, drifters, and shaft miners). These workers will thus receive a total of up to Kcs87,400.

Prospects of Coal Mining in Ostrava Examined

AU0901200690

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 3 January on page 3 carries a 1,100-word article by Dusan Kubat entitled "Coal on a Downward Track?" The article examines the future of mining in the Ostrava-Karvina coal basin in North Moravia, where current output amounts to over 22 million tonnes a year. Kubat first cites geologist Professor Miloslav Dopita on the prospects of coal mining in the basin. Dopita says that, whereas the Ostrava part of the basin, where mining has already reached a depth of 1,300 meters, is nearing depletion, the Karvina section has reserves up to the year

2050. In addition, there is a "disputed" coal deposit underneath the Beskydy mountain range, which is "more or less untouched, but very expensive to extract." Kubat goes on to address the issue of cost. He says that, according to estimates of the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the cost of extracting every tonne of coal from the Ostrava-Karvina basin exceeds the wholesale price by Kcs35 to Kcs45. According to Engineer Lumir Urbanek, deputy general director of the Ostrava-Karvina Mines, whom Kubat quotes in the article, this year the basin will require a state subsidy of Kcs1.2 billion and in the next 5-year period (1991-95) it expects to operate at a loss of Kcs16 billion. The future of the basin reportedly depends on "how much of this loss the state will be able and willing to cover."

Kubat goes on to say that, until now, the question of cost has been of second-rate importance and the basin always produced how much the State Planning Commission asked it to produce. This will have to change, he says, all the more so as about one-half of the Ostrava coal is burnt in the "similarly unprofitable steel mills in the form of coke" and about 3.5 million tonnes are exported for around $50 a tonne, which is "an equally disadvantageous price as the one used at home."

In conclusion, Kubat advocates a "more palpable limitation" of coal output than the currently foreseen cut of 10 percent over the next 5 years because "this will do little to ease the burden on the state budget."

Uranium Output To Be Cut Back 16.7 Percent

AU0901062090 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak
2 Jan 90 p 5

["tb"-signed article: "Cutback in Uranium"]

[Excerpt] This year we are starting to truly tackle the programs of phasing out production, not just on paper, but in plans and resolutions. Uranium output is a case in point. The volume of output in this branch will be 16.7 percent lower than in 1989. In this way we will reduce the volume of subsidies by Kcs550 million. [passage omitted]

1962 Radioactive Emission in Uraniam Plant

AU2201174590 Vienna Domestic Service
in German 1100 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Michael Kerbler report]

[Excerpts] Up until early 1963, everything in and around the village of Mydlovary, 12 km outside Ceske Budejovice, was still in order. However, as more and more cattle died in the vicinity of the Mape uranium processing plant, as more and more deformed calves were born, and more and more animals were found to be suffering from leukemia and cancer of the lung, the veterinarians sounded the alarm. A group of veterinarians from the National Veterinary Institute examined the cattle and tried to find out the reason for the trouble. The veterinarians came to the conclusion that the radioactive contamination of the cattle was caused by emissions from the Mape uranium processing plant. Police doctors from the CSSR Interior Ministry intervened, the findings of the veterinarians were put under lock and key, the whole matter was declared secret, and neither the public nor the responsible health authorities were informed.

Data made available to Greenpeace clearly prove that in 1962 and 1963 large amounts of radioactivity were released from the uranium ore-processing plant and contaminated a large area around Mydlovary. Incidentally, many doctors noticed that the population of Mydlovary have shown a significantly higher rate of cancer compared to the rest of the CSSR, which they also attribute to radioactive emissions from Mape. However, the Prague Interior Ministry prevented the matter from being cleared up, and contented itself with closing down and subsequently filling in a lake for bathing 2 km from the uranium processing plant. Subsequently, the village water sources were closed and Mydlovary was connected to the water supply system of Ceske Budejovice, which was very expensive. Yet neither the mayor nor the people of Mydlovary were ever given the real reasons for the closing of the water sources and why they were given the privilege of a direct connection to the Ceske Budejovice water supply system.

Under the protection of the powerful Interior Ministry, the managers of Mape were able to make and implement another decision that was hazardous to the lives of man and animals, and to nature. In order to get rid of the radioactive waste water from Mape, they built a 20-km subterranean canal to the Moldau River. Thus, for 20 years Mape released radioactive waste water into the Moldau. When, in 1985, the responsible authorities believed that they could no longer tolerate the figures showing the quality of the Moldau, this method of eliminating radioactive water was banned. Mape, which processes uranium ore not only for the USSR, but also for the FRG, now pumps the contaminated waste water into abandoned coal mines. [passage omitted]

An information campaign launched by Greenpeace has shown the first results. Not only CSSR Environment Minister Bedrich Moldan, who was particularly worried about the release of waste water into the Moldau, said that he would have the matter investigated, but also the management of the uranium processing plant have suddenly shown a readiness to discuss this matter. As early as this afternoon a first meeting is scheduled to take place between Greenpeace experts and the management of Mape.

'Hyde Parks' Designated in Prague

AU1001154590

[Editorial Report] Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 3 January on pages 1 and 2 carries a 700-word "sch"-signed report entitled "Prague 'Hyde Parks'." In the article, the author surveys the views of Prague municipal officials on the designation of "hyde parks" in various parts of the capital as places for "discussions, demonstrations, and public exchanges of views." According to M. Houska, head of the internal affairs section at the Prague City National Committee, one of the respondents, the designation of such places is a matter for individual municipal districts and is "completely within their jurisdiction." The Prague City National Committee "neither wants nor can interfere with their decisions."

The author then quotes replies that were given to him by municipal district officials in the eighth, third, and first districts of the capital. According to S. Fiala, chairman of the Municipal District National Committee in Prague-8, and K. Riha, chairman of the Municipal District National Committee in Prague-3, the local authorities and the Civic Forum groups there have already reached an agreement on places where "any gatherings, discussions, and so forth can be held." In the eighth district, it will be the open space between the Red Army Boulevard and the shipyards and in the third district the Skroup Square. J. Naceradsky, chairman of the Municipal District National Committee in Prague-1, replies that three different places have been put forward—Wenceslas Square, Old Town Square, and Little Quarter Square—all of which are "acceptable." Naceradsky says that, even though Wenceslas Square is the center of the city, he sees no problems for the functioning of the capital. Besides, as he points out, "Wenceslas Square has been selected by life itself and these discussions take place there anyhow." The author concludes his article by saying that similar selection is underway also in other municipal districts of the capital. So far, however, no proposals have reportedly been made for "permanent discussion places in the classical form of the Hyde Park," even though "as far as representatives of national committees are concerned, nothing stands in their way."

Hotels Checked for Illegal Wiretaps, Videotaping

LD1501233890 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 15 (CTK)—Preliminary results of an investigation in selected Prague Interhotels have confirmed that in each of the checked hotels there exists at least one room given at the disposal to workers of the Federal Ministry of Interior and equipped with monitors transmitting picture taken in hotel halls and social rooms. No illegal telephone tapping or videotaping in individual rooms has been found out.

The investigation was ordered by the Czech prosecutor-general on January 11, 1990 with the aim to check whether there exist cases of illegal telephone tapping and videotaping in the rooms of selected Prague Interhotels by members of the State Security and some civilian employees of these hotels, It was announced by the Czech General prosecutor's Office through CTK today.

All documents and videocasettes found in these rooms will be studied by the General Prosecutor's Office.

The general prosecution bodies assure the public that all cases of suspected illegal interference in the privacy of citizens will be dealt with in harmony with the CZechoslovak legal code in order that the involability of the rights and freedoms of citizens be respected to the full extent. The Czech general prosecution said in its statement.

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 2000 GMT on 15 January carries a similar report, adding that the investigation centered on the following hotels: "Pariz, Palas, Parkhotel, Alcron, Ambassador, Forum, Panorama, and Flora."]

Former Patent Office Employees Rehabilitated

LD0401175290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Ivan Wisztor, chairman of the Federal Office for Inventions, has fully rehabilitated, in political and career terms, all staff of the former Patents and Inventions Office who were penalized for their political attitudes in 1968 and were obliged to leave the office.

New Supreme Court President Selected

LD2301220990 Prague CTK in English 2025 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 23 (CTK)—Dr Otakar Motejl was elected president of the Supreme Court of Czechoslovakia by deputies of the Federal Assembly today. He replaces Dr Josef Ondrej who retires.

The deputies also voted to relieve another 11 judges of the Supreme Court of their posts in view of their retirement.

Otakar Motejl, 58, was a Supreme Court Judge in 1968-70. After 1970 he acted as defence in a number of political trials and at present is a member of the parliamentary commission supervising the inquiry into the November 17 events in Prague.

Havel Appoints New Director of Military Office

AU2401150590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jan 90 p 2

["CTK, zr"-signed report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] Vaclav Havel recalled Lieutenant General Jiri Necas from the post of director of the CSSR President's Military Office at the latter's own request, in connection with his retirement, and thanked him for his very good work. He appointed Major General Ladislav Tomecek to the post.

Gottwaldov Renamed Zlin 1 Jan

AU0901061290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Zlin Instead of Gottwaldov"]

[Excerpts] Zlin— On 21 December the Council of the South Moravia Regional National Committee approved with definite validity the renaming of Gottwaldov, to which its historical name, Zlin, is being returned effective 1 January 1990. Parts of the city and the entire area of the district have acquired the same name. Yesterday travelers on many roads were already able to see the new designation Zlin. [passage omitted] There is also much talk in the city about installing Tomas Garrigue Masaryk's statue. According to information from Jan Vitasek, deputy chairman of the City National Committee, the installation is planned for 7 March 1990, on the occasion of the 140th anniversary of the birth of the first Czechoslovak president. [passage omitted]

Moravians Demand Self-Rule in Letter to Havel

AU1801123590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "Letter to Vaclav Havel"]

[Text] In a letter sent to CSSR President Vaclav Havel prior to his forthcoming visit to Brno and other Moravian cities, the Moravian Civic Movement and the Society for Moravia and Silesia stress that the inhabitants of these historical lands are the descendants of the founders of the oldest Slav state in history. In the last 40 years these lands have not only lost their self-rule but also their historical traditions, their symbols, the status of an administrative entity, their traditionally autonomous culture, their publishing houses, and their literary traditions. We have set it as our aim, the letter states, to define the wishes of Moravians. If there is to be democracy for everyone, there must be democracy also for us. We would welcome your choice of a Moravian conversant with the problems of Moravia as one of your advisers. We are convinced, the letter to the CSSR president states in conclusion, that your visits [to Moravia and Silesia] and the proposals worked out by our specialists for solving the Moravian question will help you take an effective and objective part in the solution of the whole range of problems concerning the position of Moravia and the Moravian part of Silesia.

Communist Party Periodicals Cease Publication

AU2501091690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Sometimes Registration on the Spot"]

[Text] Prague—"The doors leading to the press administration section of the Federal Press and Information Office [FUTI] have almost no time to close," Anna Vocu, director of of the FUTI section told journalists at a press conference in Prague yesterday [17 January], when she briefed them on the current conditions and possibities for publishing new periodicals in the CSSR.

According to the available data for 1989, which are still incomplete, a total of 1,100-1,200 periodicals are registered in the CSSR; they are published in 32 million copies per print run and their annual paper consumption amounts to 140,000 tonnes. From 1 December 1989 to the middle of January 1990, a total of 25 new newspapers and journals were registered with FUTI and the two national Ministries of Culture. On the other hand, the publication of five periodicals—namely, LIDOVE MILICE, NOVA MYSL, TEORIE SOCIALISMU, TRIBUNA, and ZIVOT STRANY, all published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the RUDE PRAVO publishing house—has been stopped since the beginning of this year.

Contrary to its former practices, FUTI is now registering the newly founded periodicals very flexibly—in a matter of days, and sometimes even on the spot. However, the rule still holds that a new periodical must have a responsible publisher and, above all, it must have with all the necessary material-technical, production, and financial facilities. We must realize that only periodicals published with at least a 50,000-80,000-copy print run can make a profit.

Carnogursky Issues 'Clarification' to Interview

AU2401150790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jan 90 p 2

[Letter from First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky to RUDE PRAVO chief editor: "J. Carnogursky's Clarification;" opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] On 15 January RUDE PRAVO published a CTK report on an interview with Jan Carnogursky, first CSSR deputy premier, published in the Austrian newspaper ARBEITER ZEITUNG. We have now received from him the following clarification:

Esteemed Mr Chief Editor,

On 15 January 1990 RUDE PRAVO published a report on my interview for the Austrian newspaper ARBEITER ZEITUNG. In the report I was quoted as having said that directors of enterprises who are Communists will be replaced by elected representatives.

The interview for AZ, as well as for several other Austrian newspapers, was made during my stay at an international conference in Vienna. The conversation was conducted in German and I did not make any recording of it.

As far as I remember, when asked about the economic situation and economic measures in the CSSR I replied that directors of enterprises who had been installed by the Communist Party and whom the enterprise labor force does not trust can be recalled by the labor force, which can then elect someone else to their post.

I will try to verify on the basis of which sources the AZ editor published my reply in the form in which it was published. To the best of my knowledge, the reply was published in a distorted way. Because the RUDE PRAVO report on my interview provoked readers' disapproval, and rightly so, I have decided not to wait for the outcome of my inquiry with the AZ editorial office and to send you this letter. Should trustworthy sources of the AZ editorial office demonstrate that my reply was quoted correctly, then this reply was a misunderstanding. In that case I am ready to apologize to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for my words.

Sincerely, Jan Carnogursky, first CSSR deputy premier.

New Slovak Radio Director Named 12 Jan

LD1401061490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Excerpts] In Bratislava today, Ladislav Chudik, minister of culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic, installed Dr (Vladimir Stefko) as a new director of Slovak radio.

(Vladimir Stefko) is 48 years old. He is a journalism graduate of the Philosophy Faculty of the Komensky University in Bratislava. He worked as editor of daily SMENA, Czechoslovak television, NOVE SLOVO, as chief editor of JAVISKO maagazine, and lately as chief editor of DIALOGUE magazine. Besides his journalistic activities, he is well known as a theater theorist and critic. He has published a number of books on Slovak theater, both professional and amateur. He is from Martin, and theater in Martin and the Matica Slovenska [cultural association] are the subjects of most of his works. [passage omitted]

Now you can hear a few thoughts from an interview which was given to us by (Vladimir Stefko), new director of our radio, immediately after his installment:

[Begin (Stefko) recording] I think that a chance is being offered, above all, by the fact that the new radio—if we can call it new—should be a radio providing objective information and standing above political parties, and social organizations, which should be a truly national institution that will protect all the cultural, social, and political values of this nation. I think that these days there are enough people in radio on whom it will be possible to rely and who will fulfill this difficult program in a short time. [end recording]

Layoffs in Slovak TV Called Off

AU2201143890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jan p 2

[Unattributed report: "All-Television Aktiv"]

[Text] Bratislava— According to information released by CTK at 2140 yesterday, the staff of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Socialist Republic held an all-television aktiv Thursday [18 January] afternoon. The aktiv was organized by the strike committee of the Main News Department with the aim of passing either a vote of confidence or a vote of no confidence in the Organizational Committee of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Socialist Republic. However, the trade union action committee in Czechoslovak Television in Bratislava, the preparatory committee of the Association of Slovak Television Program Makers, the All-Slovak Coordinating Strike Committee of University Students, the Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence movement in Bratislava, as well as the absolute majority of employees of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Socialist Republic expressed support for the Organizational Committee of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Socialist Republic and refused to even vote on the motion.

They endorsed the demand for a speedy and energetic solution to the personnel situation in the Main News Department. The aktiv also gave full support to the new Action Managerial Board of the Main News Department. The Program Council called off the decision to immediately transfer 25 editors from the Main News Department to different work, in view of the fact that procedural and formal modalities of this legal act foreseen under the Labor Code were not complied with.

New Theological Journal To Be Published

AU2301160990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 19 Jan 90 p 2

["(ml)"-signed report: "New Theological Journal"]

[Text] TEOLOGICKE TEXTY [Theological Texts], a journal published underground for the last 10 years, will be published officially toward the end of March 1990. The publication of DUCHOVNI PASTYR [Spiritual Shepherd], a monthly of the Catholic clergy, will cease with the monthly's February issue. TEOLOGICKE TEXTY is to serve not only the clergy, but also a broad readers' community interested in contemporary theology and in church activities in our present society. TEOLOGICKA TEXTY will be published six times a year, with 40 pages a copy; the price will be Kcs8 per copy.

New Slovak Writers Club Established

AU2301131190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jan 90 p 15

["(fm)"-signed report: "Slovak Writers' Club"]

[Text] Bratislava (by our reporter)—The members of the Slovak Writers' Union convened their regular congress on Thursday [18 January]. The main aim of the congress was to set up a new Slovak Writers' Club [Spolek slovenskych spisovatelu].

The delegates supported the appeal for a radical parting of ways with the existing writers' union. The participants in the discussion called for the autonomy of the Slovak

Writer [Slovensky Spisovatel] publishing house and for the maintenance of literary journals.

The congress condemned the course pursued by the Slovak Writers' Union Committee in the years 1969-82 and declared the comittee's decision to exclude, or else write off, 55 Slovak writers and 14 translators from its ranks null and void; the congress also approved the statutes of the Slovak Writers' Club and its policy statement. The Slovak Writers' Union has thus ceased to exist.

The congress elected the Presidium of the Slovak Writers' Club by secret ballot. The plenum elected Ladislav Tazky the club's honorary chairman; Jaroslav Reznik was elected acting chairman by secret ballot.

Slovak National Council Session Reported

LD2212105589 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Report by Alica Bielikova and Viliam Racek on 19th session of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 19 December—live or recorded]

[Text] [Bielikova] Before the 19th session of the Slovak National Council began, its Presidium met at its 48th session. The Presidium acknowledged the resignation of deputies Karol Straka, Jarosalv Karas, Jan Blchac, Ludovit Kilar, and Elena Litvajova, and called by-elections in the vacated election districts.

Milan Cic, Slovak Socialist Republic premier, was present at the session and put forward a proposal by the government for changing the post of chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. The Slovak National Council Presidium recalled Academician Vladimir Hajko as chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences following from his request to retire. Academician Ivan Hrivnak was appointed by the Presidium as the new chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

[Racek] Deliberations of the 19th session of the Slovak National Council then began. It was opened by Chairman Rudolf Schuster. He presented, and at the same time welcomed, the members of the new Slovak Socialist Republic Government, led by Milan Cic, premier.

Former deputies of the Slovak National Council were also invited to the deliberations, those who in the years 1968-69 lost their mandates under pressure.

Rudolf Schuster summed up in detail in his opening speech the steps taken by the Slovak National Council since its last session. At the same time, he outlined. Its future aims, as well as goals the implementation of which will be requested from the Slovak Socialist Republic Government. Today's session of the Slovak national Council was important in this regard because the newly formed government of national accord presented its program at the session.

The declaration was delivered by Milan Cic, Slovak premier. He said the government wanted to and would serve the peoples. It means specificially, that in harmony with the will of the people, it sees as its priority task to create social, material, organizational, financial, and legislative prerequsites for the preparation and implementation of free general elections for all representative bodies.

In the interest of citizens, the government will implement the prerequisites and adopt measures for deep reforms in the social and political area, in the area of environment and health of citizens, in the economic-social sphere, in science, education, culture, the life of young people, and in its attitude toward cooperation with the Federal Government and the government of the Czech Socialist Republic.

The prerequisite of socio-economic advancement is sufficient financial resources. With regard to the new political situation, all governments, federal and republic, adopted state budget draft for the next year in which a provisional budget will be followed in the first quarter of next year. This was explained by Michal Kovac, minister of finances, prices, and wages.

Then, a discussion on the government's policy statement followed. Two former deputies of the Slovak National Council, Vladimir Haviar and Anton Tazky, also contributed to it.

The Slovak National Council deputies also permitted a representative of the civic initiative Public Against Violence, Jan Budaj, to take the floor. He expressed the conviction that our highest republic representative body will come with a clear, courageous viewpoint and defend the interests of the peoples. He put forward a number of proposals on how to improve our political and social life at the level which is managed by the national committees and informed those present that members of our countrymen clubs abroad have given Slovak citizens medicaments and other health care material worth 500,000 Swiss francs.

After a discussion, the Slovak National Council expressed confidence in the Slovak Socialist Republic Government.

In an adopted resolution on a government policy statement, the Slovak National Council says, among other things, that deputies of the Slovak National Council have been following with concern the reports about the situation in Romania. They expressed an univocal standpoint against any violence and for adherence to haman rights. In this connection they expressed concern with regard to minority nationalities living in Romania.

Deputies then discussed a number of new governmental bills and approved the creation of the Slovak National Council's Committee for Environment.

The Slovak National Council then elected new professional judges for the courts in the Slovak Socialist

Republic. The deputies acknowledged the work of the commission which is overseeing the investigation into the intervention of the National Security Corps against the assembly of believers in Bratislava on 25 March 1988. We already published this information during the period between the two sessions of the Slovak National Council.

After the 19th meeting of the Slovak National Council its Presidium convened and promulgated the laws approved today and ended the autumn session of the Slovak National Council as from 29 December 1989.

Slovak National Council Supports New Laws

LD2312211889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Slovak National Council today took a positive stand on the proposal put forward by a group of Federal Assembly deputies to issue two constitutional laws. This involves primarily the amendment of article 63 of the Constitutional Law on the Federation, which redrafts the text of the oath taken by the president of the republic before the Federal Assembly. Furthermore, this involves a new constitutional law on the election of new deputies to legislative bodies.

News Conference on Slovak Party Congress

LD2112051989 Prague CTK in English 2228 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—The press centre of the special congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party started its activity here today. Today's press conference focused on the course and results of Sunday's special congress of the Slovak Communist Party.

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Slovak Communist Party Jan Siroky said that the new Slovak Communist Party bodies have been radically renewed. Only three former members remained in the 93-member Central Committee. Quite new people were elected to the Executive Committee and the Central Control and Audit Commission of the Slovak Communist Party.

Jan Siroky described the ending of clearing the party from people who caused its present crisis, creating a new organizational structure and renewing of the apparatus as the most urgent tasks of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Answering questions concerning the forthcoming special congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Jan Siroky said that a total of 1,618 delegates have been elected to the congress, most of whom, approximately 30 per cent, are workers. Seven per cent are members of the apparatus.

New Leadership for West Slovak KNV

AU2112131289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 89 p 2

[Excerpts] Bratislava (CTK)—The sesssion of the West Slovak Regional National Committee [KNV], the first part of which was held on 12 December, continued in Bratislava yesterday [18 December]. Michal Borgula was elected chairman of the West Slovak KNV by secret ballot. [passage omitted] The deputies also elected Ivan Hudec as deputy chairman of the KNV, and the council of the KNV was supplemented by deputies without party affilliation, and by members of the Democratic Party and Freedom Party.

Slovak Commission Probes 1988 Events

LD0401212490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] In Bratislava today, the commission of deputies of the Slovak National Council for supervision over the investigation into interference against the demonstration of believers on 25 March 1988, supplemented by representatives of Public Against Violence, was learning further circumstances of the case. From the explanations of Aloiz Lorenc, former first deputy federal minister of the interior; Stefan Lazar, former Slovak interior minister, as well as Stefan Mikula, head of administration of Bratislava National Security Corps and the West Slovak Region; it was investigating their personal share in the preparation and management of the security forces's interference at Hviezdoslav Square. Their explanations, however, did not lead to a unified view or to delimiting degree of responsibility. The then political and public figures—Jozef Lenart, Ignac Janak, Miroslav Valek, and Bohumil Chudy—gave different viewpoints to the members of the commission, including the existence and the activity of the Political Commission for Preventive Organizational Activity, which was to have prevented the demonstration by believers.

Slovak Social Democrats To Form Own Party

AU1501121790 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 5 Jan 90 p 2

["jg"-signed report: "Social Democratic Party in Slovakia: Tradition of More Than 100 Years"]

[Text] Bratislava— The preparatory committee for the founding of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia [Socialnodemocraticka strana na Slovensku] started to operate a few days ago. The party wants to build on the tradition of the social democratic movement in Europe, which is more than 100 years old. Its program states that it supports all 12 points of the declaration of the Public Against Violence civic initiative and the declaration of the Strike Coordinating Committee of Slovak University Students. In the future, the party will seek the complete freedom of man, parliamentary democracy, prosperity and social security for the working man, and the implementation of his basic rights enshrined in the Declaration of Human Rights.

The complete program and detailed information on the possibility of joining the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia can be obtained at the address of its preparatory committee: Engineer Ivan Paulicka, No. 2/a Hranicarov Square, 851 01 Bratislava.

Slovak Nationalists Found Stur Society

AU1101121590 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 5 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed CTK report: "Stur Society"]

[Text] Bratislava (CTK) — The Stur Society [Sturova Spolocnost, named after Ludovit Stur, leading figure of the Slovak "national awakening" in the 19th century, who laid down the rules for written Slovak] has been set up to promote national awareness and patriotism in the spirit of European cultural traditions, based on the ideals of Classical Greece and Christianity. This special interest organization, which will set up local branches, set itself the task to promote the cultural and national-educational activity of Slovaks living abroad with the aim of preventing their assimilation in a foreign ethnic environment. Furthermore, it strives for the return of Slovak national symbols (the emblem and the flag) and for an objective interpretation of Slovak history.

Warn Against Hungarian Nationalism

AU1101124590 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 8 Jan 90 p 2

["Open letter" from the Coordinating Committee of the Stur Society to the director of Czechoslovak Television from the "Platform of Views and Attitudes" column]

[Text] We awaited with interest Bratislava Television's "Studio Dialogue" program on nationality questions, broadcast on second channel on Wednesday, 3 January, at 2000. However, we were surprised by the manner in which this dialogue was conducted. There was a conspicuous lack of balance in the composition of the panelists, with representatives of the Hungarian nationality (who included representatives of official Slovak Socialist Republic bodies) being significantly dominant. They kept stressing their alleged suppression in Czechoslovakia, even though it is publicly known that the Hungarian nationality here avails itself of all prerequisites for a prosperous life, of conditions which are extraordinarily favorable when compared with the minority policies of other states. In the studio there was not even one representative of Slovaks living in southern Slovakia. It is known that Slovaks living in southern Slovakia do not have the same opportunities as the local Hungarians. In many cases, for instance, they must attend Hungarian schools. An incident of a few days ago in Samorin can serve as a striking illustration of the conditions there: When one person wanted to address in Slovak a meeting organized by the Public Against Violence there, the audience booed him down in a display of intolerance. Such experiences arouse in us justified fears of a repetition of events which had preceded the Vienna Arbitration and the Munich Agreement of 1938 when Slovaks in southern Slovakia used to be terrorized by Horthyists and Czechs in the Sudetenland by the followers of Henlein [Konrad Henlein, German minority leader in pre-World War II Czechoslovakia].

Only rarely did the moderator of Studio Dialogue give the representatives of Matica Slovenska [Slovak National Heritage Foundation] an opportunity to speak, although the latter constantly asked to speak, and he very often interrupted them without any reason. The question of reciprocity between the rights of Hungarians in Slovakia and of Slovaks in Hungary was broached only once for a few moments at the end of the program, even though this is the fundamental point of departure for solving nationality issues. Furthermore, the fact was not mentioned at all that the number of Hungarians in southern Slovakia is influenced by the circumstance that a large number of Romanies claims to be of Hungarian nationality. The representatives of Matica Slovenska were exposed to unfounded, subjectively motivated attacks from the representative of CSEMADOK [cultural association of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia], which receives subsidies from the Slovak Government, allocated from the results of the work of all of us. It is also noteworthy that the telephone numbers at which viewers could ask questions were blocked throughout the program, which can be confirmed by many viewers who tried to get through.

Not only we but a large portion of our public gained the impression from the whole program that the "Studio Dialogue" program had been carefully stage-managed and deliberately manipulated in the interest of a disproportionate preference of the interests of the Hungarian nationality and, what is more, even in support of Hungarian nationalism [sentence as published]. The program thus failed to meet the viewers' expectations. Such an approach cannot serve the cause of good neighborly coexistence of nations and ethnic minorities, plays into the hands of dark forces abroad that are inimical to our state, and assists in the destabilization of conditions in our country. The responsible bodies must realize the potential consequences of such approaches.

Slovak Youth Congress Ends Without Agreement

AU1101143590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jan 90 p 5

["(VD)"-signed report: "Without a United Point of View"]

[Text] Bratislava (From our own correspondent)—In Bratislava on Sunday [7 January] the first part of the Slovak Socialist Youth Union [SSM] extraordinary congress came to an end.

Seven hundred and forty-five delegates discussed its preservation and future structure. The second part of the congress, which will take place in a month, will decide on the definitive form of the Slovak Socialist Republic youth organization.

The discussion was lengthy, and often digressed from the problems that had been raised. Sometimes voting took place on two contentious issues at once. In the end, the Slovak congress did not draw up a united viewpoint, maybe because it is necessary to change the SSM's name.

Slovak Sports Organizations Leadership Resigns

AU1101203890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Jan 90 p 6

[Unattributed CTK report: "The Presidium of the Slovak Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association Stepped Down"]

[Text] Bratislava— Members of the Presidium of the Slovak Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association [CSTV] met with members of the Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence movement at the Slovak CSTV Central Committee in Bratislava yesterday. They reached the following conclusions:

1. The Presidium took internal measures to secure the operation of the apparatus of the Slovak CSTV Central Committee and the organization's activity.

2. It took note of the fact that, upon the initiative of the Public Against Violence group at the Slovak CSTV Central Committee, a preparatory committee had been founded for an all-Slovak aktiv of representatives of physical education clubs and sports federations, which will be held in Bratislava on 13 January 1990.

3. In the interest of accelerating the process of renewal in the Slovak CSTV organization, members of the Slovak CSTV Central Committee Presidium gave up their functions.

Structural Changes in Slovak Industry Viewed

AU1501125190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "The Year 1993 Will Decide"]

[Text] Bratislava— At their meeting in Bratislava yesterday, Milan Cic, premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, and Ladislav Vodrazka, CSSR minister of metallurgy, engineering, and the electrotechnical industry, discussed problems concerning the further development of engineering and metallurgy in the Slovak Socialist Republic. The talks concerned, in particular, the speedy finalization of the definite production program of the Bratislava Automobile Works state enterprise, especially in connection with negotiations with foreign car manufacturing companies. As far as metallurgical production is concerned, what is involved will be the modernization of production in the Slovak National Uprising Works at Ziar nad Hronom and in the Nickel Smelting Plant at Sered, coupled with consistent consideration for ecological aspects. At the same time, an intensive search is under way for alternative production programs to compensate for cutbacks in arms manufacturing. This applies, in particular, to the Martin Heavy Engineering Works and the Povazska Bystrica Ball Bearing Plant. The introduction of a new, progressive engineering production program is being considered that would make it possible for products to be sold on demanding foreign markets. In drawing up these targets, the two officials described the year 1993 as decisive for the creation of the necessary pace of economic development of enterprises with a new production program.

New Chairman of Slovak DFC

AU1601121690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jan p 4

[Unattributed report]

[Text] The Democratic Forum of Communists Coordinating Committee held a meeting in Bratislava on 8 January 1990. The meeting discussed organizational issues. Miroslav Svitek was made chairman.

Slovak National Front Presidium Convenes

AU1701161990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jan 90 p 1

[Martin Krno report: "We Will Have New Ministers; the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front in the Slovak Socialist Republic Convened"]

[Text] Bratislava—The first item on the agenda of yesterday's [9 January] session of the Central Committee Presidium of the National Front [NF] of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] had to be passed over, since it has proved impossible to complete the final draft of the NF law. Citizens are sending many suggestions and reminders, to the NF, thus proving their lively interest in the future of this free association of political parties and social organizations.

Ladislav Kosta, Slovak SR minister of justice, submitted to those present at the session the proposal to withdraw Jan Bencura, currently chairman of the Supreme Court in the Slovak SR; to elect Karol Plank to this office; and to elect two other professional judges (all three without any political affiliation). These proposals were unanimouskly accepted. Olga Marhulikova, chairing the NF Central Committee in the Slovak SR, briefed the session on the deliberations of the roundtable of political parties and civic initiatives which was held in Prague on 5 January. The representative of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, who recalled the contribution made by the present Soviet leadership to the revolutionary transformations in Eastern Europe, had to listen to invective voiced by the young representative of the Movement for Civic Liberty in Slovakia.

The NF Central Committee Presidium in the Slovak SR took due note of the fact that the Slovak Cremation Society, the Romany Integration Party in Slovakia, the National Union of Slovaks, the Republican Party, the Party of Independent Democrats, the Slovak University Club [Slovensky vysokoskolsky spolok], the Society of Friendship With the U.S. People [Spolocnost priatelstva s ludom USA], and the Movement For Civic Freedom in Slovakia [Hnutie za obciansku slobodu na Slovensku] have all applied for NF membership.

Slovak SR Premier Milan Cic then submitted proposals for the outstanding appointments of ministers: he proposed Vladimir Meciar (no political affiliation) for the office of minister of the interior; Stanislav Novak (Democratic Party) for the office of minister of health and social affairs; and Silvester Minarovic (during his term of office as minister, his membership in the Freedom Party will be suspended) for the office of minister-chairman of the People's Control Committee in the Slovak SR. Premier Cic stressed that the main idea behind the latter decision was that this significant office should be held by a responsible person who is not directly influenced by any political party. In replying to a query, he simultaneously stated that one is considering whether the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs should again be split into two separate ministries. In the end those present at the session adopted the recommendation that the Presidium of the Slovak National Council [SNR] should approve the appointments of ministers as proposed.

Dusan Janota, chairman of the NF Central Committee Presidium in the Slovak SR, read a letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, announcing that it releases Daniel Futej and Matus Benyo from their functions in the NF Central Committee Presidium in the Slovak SR, and appoints Olga Marhulikova as delegate to this body. In concluding the session, Dusan Janota announced that, in keeping with the agreement reached between the political parties on the monthly rotation in the office of NF Central Committee chairman in the Slovak SR, he is relinquishing his office. The next session of the NF Central Committee in the Slovak SR will decide on who is to be the new chairman.

Slovak Central Committee Convenes 20 Jan

AU1701225090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Session of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia"]

[Text] At its session yesterday [9 January], the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] resolved that the CPSL Central Committee session should convene on 20 January 1990. It also adopted an appeal to party members in connection with the party-wide discussion of the draft CPSL Action Program and an appeal to the Slovak public. It also discussed the draft plan for the work of CPSL Central Committee bodies in the first quarter of 1990 and proposals on the composition of the following commissions:

The commission for the analysis of deformations in internal party life and the revival of this life; the commission for the elaboration of the CPSL's election program; the commission for the evaluation of the history of workers, socialist, and communist movements in Slovakia; the commission for the final elaboration of the CPSL Action Program; and the commission for the assessment of individual responsibility for political mistakes perpetrated in the management of party work in Slovakia since the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia by former members of the CPSL Central Committee, its bodies, and the CPSL's Central Control and Auditing Commission, by the executive staff of the CPSL Central Committee apparatus, and by functionaries of the state and representative bodies.

The Executive Committee of the CPSL's Central Committee then dealt with the issues of providing material and financial prerequisites for the CPSL's activities and certain cadre issues.

Siroky Interviewed on Situation in Slovak CP

AU1801145690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Jan Siroky, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, by Vaclav Pergl; date and place not given: "The Party's Cleansing Proceeds Slowly"]

[Excerpts] Not even a whole month has elapsed since the Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL]. What has been accomplished since then? Our questions have been answered by Comrade Jan Siroky, chairman of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee. [passage omitted]

[Pergl] The extraordinary congress called for the party's cleansing of politically compromised Communists. What progress have you made in this regard?

[Siroky] This task does not concern just Communists who were working in central bodies. As far as they are concerned, we have already established a commission to assess their guilt. However, such commissions must be active concurrently in districts. The party must be cleansed of the bearers of deformations at the local level as well. After all, there, too, people sit who are fully responsible for the situation which led to the party's crisis. For the time being, however, there are not yet any results as far as the party's cleansing is concerned. We do not proceed indiscriminately, for not everyone who held an office can be condemned. The measure of guilt needs to be assessed in a differentiated way.

[Pergl] Regional and city party committees have been abolished. How does their dismantling continue?

[Siroky] Politically, these bodies have already ceased to exist. The liquidation of their property and the solution of labor-related legal affairs of members of the apparatus will require 4-5 months.

[Pergl] Do all of them manage to find a job?

[Siroky] No, and it is difficult to help them find one. We cannot order any enterprise, and not even ask it, to hire them. It is up to every individual to find a job for himself. I am sorry to have to say that many cannot find a job even as manual workers, even though these are highly qualified people. We are thinking about setting up business ventures, cooperatives where we would employ them.

[Pergl] Has the number of party members in Slovakia declined since 17 November?

[Siroky] There are about 20,000 of those who have left the party officially. That means that they have announced their decision and handed back their membership cards. But the actual number of people leaving the party is higher than that.

[Pergl] The extraordinary congress approved an action program. Is it being fulfilled?

[Siroky] There continues to be rather a great deal of passivity. Many Communists know the action program but are not personally attached to it. They silently approve of it, which is too little. There is also a small number of those who can be "noticed" in the public, although it is precisely such people that we now need. Many people are afraid, anxious about the future, about whether it will be socialist. The party is slowly waking up. But there is no time to lose. We must become much more active if we want to win votes for Communist candidates in the elections.

[Pergl] Thank you for the interview.

Slovak Government Discusses Personnel Changes

AU1701085190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jan 90 p 2

[Elena Klimesova report: "Cadre Changes"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (from our correspondent) — Yesterday's session of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government paid attention, above all, to cadre changes in central bodies. [passage omitted]

The government's proposals for the posts of minister of interior and the environment, minister of health and social affairs, and minister-chairman of the People's Control Committee will be discussed by the Presidium of the Slovak National Council today. New deputy ministers of construction and the building industry, trade and tourism, forestry and water economy, industry, and other deputy ministers will also take up their posts in a few days. At its session yesterday, the government also approved [the Slovak-born U.S. businessman] Michal Sumichrast as its honorary adviser. Michal Sumichrast is a representative of the Washington- based American-Slovak Society and also acts as adviser for President Bush.

Following an agreement with the Public Against Violence movement and on the basis of demands from the staff, Ladislav Chudik, minister of culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic, proposed that the directors of Czechoslovak Radio and CTK in Slovakia be recalled from their posts. The Government approved Vladimir Stefko and Svetozar Stur for these posts. Jan Burian was approved as chairman of the Slovak Geological Office. [passage omitted]

The prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic asked to be released from his post.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 January on page 2 carries a 120-word "gc"-signed report on the Slovak Government session, which mentions that "the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic decided to publish its own paper, NOVA OBRODA [New Revival], in a print run of 250,000 copies"]

Ministers Appointed

LD1101183990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Newly appointed government ministers and a prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic took the constitutional oath in front of Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council, in the Hall of the Czechoslovak Federation in Bratislava Castle early this evening.

The new minister of health and social affairs is Stanislav Novak. The minister of the interior and the environment is Vladimir Meciar. Minister and chairman of the People's Control Committee as of today, is Silvester Minarovic. [passage omitted]

National Council Appointments

LD1101233290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] The Slovak National Council Presidium met today in Bratislava, chaired by its chairman, Rudolf Schuster. The Presidium convened the spring session of the Slovak National Council and in this connection discussed the agenda for the 20th meeting of the Slovak National Council, which will be held tomorrow, to elect new deputies to seats made vacant by resignations, and to discuss other important issues.

Chechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has promised to attend the first part of the Slovak National Council meeting.

At the proposal of Slovak Premier Milan Cic, the Presidium of the Slovak National Council appointed three Slovak government ministers.

The Slovak National Council Presidium also recalled, at his own request, Jozef Kolar from the post of chairman of the Slovak Statistics Office, and noted that a new chairman of the office would be appointed. The government of the Slovak Socialist Republic put existing Deputy Chairman Ladislav Mikus in charge of the office.

The Slovak National Council Presidium recalled Pavol Kis, prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic, from that post at his own request, and appointed Tibor (?Bohm) to that post.

After agreement with the Slovak Premier, the Presidium of the Slovak National Council appointed Karol Plank chairman of the Commission for Drafting the Constitution of the Slovak Socialist Republic. It also instructed him to submit to the Slovak National Council Presidium, after agreement with the political parties and civic initiatives, the proposed composition of the Commission for Drafting the Constitution of the Slovak Socialist Republic within 1 month at the latest.

The Slovak National Council Presidium also issued a statement on the practical implementation of abolishing Article Four of the Constitution on the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The statement says that the Slovak National Council, in accordance with this change, has restructured its Presidium and is also taking measures to ensure that the interest and will of the people and the composition of the Slovak National Council deputies is fully respected.

The Slovak National Council Presidium also set up a special commission made up of representatives from political parties, people with no party affiliation, believers, and representatives of national minorities, whose task is to assess the progress and results of the implementation of those measures following the abolition of Article Four of the Constitution in all spheres, and to make appropriate recommendations.

Fundamental changes in the political situation must be reflected more promptly in the restructuring of the national commitees. Adequate scope for achieving the desired state of affairs will be created by the approval of a draft constitutional law on the exceptional appointment to the national committees of new deputies who are members of the public without any political affiliation, or members of other political parties and civic initiatives.

Deputy Ministers Appointed

AU1701093690 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 11 Jan 90 p 1

["(EVA)"-signed report: "Appointments to Posts"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] At the Ministry of Forestry, Water Economy, and the Wood-Processing Industry, Andrej Egerbenyi was appointed deputy minister with responsibility for forestry; Dominik Kocinger was appointed deputy minister with responsibility for water economy; and Milan Kolejak was appointed deputy minister with responsibility for the wood-processing industry. Gustav Sladek was appointed to the post of deputy minister of trade and tourism with responsibility for tourism and public catering. Jaroslav Zbirka and Dusan Ursiny were appointed deputy ministers of construction and the building industry. Jaroslav Kubecka and Jan Holcik were appointed deputy ministers of Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] industry. Juraj Moravcik was appointed to the post of deputy minister of agriculture and food. Simon Korbini and Jozef Belcak were appointed deputy chairmen of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development. Jan Burian was appointed to the post of chairman of the Slovak Geological Office. Pavol Smoradek was appointed director of the Slovak Office for Labor Safety. Michal Sumichrast, current adviser to the U.S. President in financial issues, was appointed honorary adviser to the Slovak SR Government in economic issues. [passage omitted]

New Slovak Civic Initiative Founded

AU1701090190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report from the "Briefly From Home" column: "A New Civic Initiative"]

[Text] Another independent civic initiative—Movement for European Unity (EUROUNI)—has recently evolved in Slovakia. It affiliates people, irrespective of their religious or political appurtenance, state citizenship, or nationality, who want to contribute to uniting Europe on confederative principles and on a democratic and humanistic basis, first and foremost, by propagating this idea. There is group and individual membership in the movement; collective members may also be political parties whose program does not contradict the movement's goal. The movement's coordination center is in Bratislava; national centers will operate in individual European countries. Contact address: EUROUNI, PO Box 81 299, 801 00 Bratislava.

Slovak Council Favors Czechoslovak Federation

LD1401142990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] The Slovak National Council deputies, in a statement on drafting the new Slovak and Czechoslovak Constitutions, have stressed that they favor a stable Czechoslovak federative republic which will develop in the spirit of humanistic traditions and Czech-Slovak reciprocity.

Concerning the new Slovak Constitution, they noted that they would lay particular emphasis on applying the right of the Slovak nation to self-determination on the basis of its voluntary association with the Czech nation. It would establish broad rights for the nationalities living in Slovakia, and create appropriate conditions for a state based on the rule of law to operate on a democratic basis.

Slovak Freedom Party Extraordinary Congress Held

LD1401181590 Prague CTK in English
1904 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 13 (CTK)—Topical tasks of the Slovak Freedom Party under new political and social conditions in Czechoslovakia, preparations for free elections, a draft program rules and other documents were discussed by participants in an extraordinary congress of the Slovak Freedom Party here today.

The adopted program stressed that the Freedom Party supports the pluralistic political system on a democratic basis, is open to citizens of different world outlook, strives for the observance of all human rights and freedoms fixed firmly in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international documents of the U.N., documents of the Helsinki process and the Final Act of the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting.

From the economic point of view, the Slovak Freedom Party backs the equalization of all forms of ownership, demands the creation of an effective system of care for the environment.

The delegates elected a new party central committee and a central audit commission.

Sirotnak Elected Chairman

LD1401194690 Prague CTK in English
1712 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 14 (CTK)—Jozef Sirotnak, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, was elected new chairman of the Slovak Freedom Party at its extraordinary session here last night.

Slovak Parliament Selects Deputies, Passes Laws

AU1701094790 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 13 Jan 90 p 1

[Frantisek Melis, Martin Krno report: "Extraordinary Method of Electing Deputies; The Slovak National Council Held its 20th Meeting"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (from our correspondents)—Government-sponsored drafts of laws of the Slovak National Council [SNR], the election of SNR deputies, and other questions were on the agenda of yesterday's 20th meeting of the highest legislative body of the Slovak Socialist Republic. SNR Chairman Rudolf Schuster welcomed at the meeting CSSR President Vaclav Havel. [passage omitted]

The SNR elected by open ballot 19 new SNR deputies, 9 of whom represent the civic movement, Public Against Violence. The other newly elected deputies represent the Freedom Party, the Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Movement, the Social Democratic Party, the Trend of the Third Millennium party, the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party, the Party of Democratic Socialism, and the Christian Democratic Movement. [passage omitted]

Deputy Vasil Bejda (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) said that many deputies are being reproached for not having been elected in a democratic way. He remarked that he does not know why his election had been less democratic than the election of those who were appointed as new deputies at today's SNR meeting. At the end of his statement, he surrendered his mandate as deputy.

Provisional Constitutional Laws

The Government-sponsored draft of the SNR law on the extraordinary complementing of national committees with new deputies was explained by Vladimir Meciar, minister of interior and the environment of the Slovak Socialist Republic. In the interest of the implementation of the national committees' tasks, the law essentially lays down the rules for the complementing of national committees with new deputies for those who surrendered their mandate for one reason or another or who were recalled by their voters because of loss of trust. The composition of national committees must also better correspond to the existing balance of political forces. Viliam Volko (Freedom Party), acting as joint reporter for the SNR committees, stressed that for a temporary period, the constitutional law lays down another reason for not holding by- elections to national committees. At the same time, it determines the manner of the extraordinary complementing of national committees' plenums so that the number of deputies does not drop below the quorum.

In the debate on this point on the agenda, Deputy Darina Kulinova (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) criticized the fact that there is only one woman among the 19 new SNR deputies. She reported on a letter to the Slovak Socialist Republic premier expressing concern lest the changes in the management of the economy and the new concepts of employment policy aggravate further the already strained living situation of women. [passage omitted]

The SNR approved the submitted Government-sponsored draft law. The extraordinary complementing of national committees with new deputies is to take place at plenary sessions by open ballot.

Jozef Markus, first deputy premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, then explained the government-sponsored draft law of the SNR which amends SNR law No. 74 of 1963 on the Slovak Academy of Sciences. The aim of the amendment is to make it possible, before a new law on the Slovak Academy of Sciences is adopted, to at least partially establish conditions for the Slovak Academy of Sciences to switch to self-management.

[passage omitted] The deputies then approved the government-sponsored draft law. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, the SNR meeting approved the proposal to recall Jan Bencura, LLD, from the post of professional judge and chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic Supreme Court and to elect Professor Karol Plank, LLD, candidate of sciences, as chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic Supreme Court. The SNR then assigned its newly elected deputies to individual SNR committees and elected Peter Brnak (Democratic Party) as chairman of the SNR Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee and Dalibor Madar (Trend of the Third Millennium Party) as chairman of the SNR Committee for the Environment. [passage omitted]

The SNR Presidium, which met after the SNR meeting, promulgated both constitutional laws that were approved and rescinded its resolution No. 398 of 19 December 1989 on calling by-elections for the East Slovak Regional National Committee.

New Slovak Prosecutor General

AU1701105390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report in the "Brief Domestic News" column: "Induction Into Office"]

[Text] LLD Tibor Boehm was inducted into his office as the prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic by Kazimir Nagy, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, in the presence of LLD Pavel Sitar, CSSR prosecutor general.

Slovak Premier Addresses Slovak Parliament

AU1801093590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jan 90 p 2

["Excerpts" of Slovak Socialist Republic Premier Milan Cic's address at the 20th meeting of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 12 January: "Along the Path of Constitutionality, Legality, and Morality"]

[Excerpts] First of all, [since its appointment in December], the Slovak Socialist Republic Government has had to clarify the new methods and systemic approaches to its work. We want to tear down departmental barriers. The government wants, and must, operate as a collective body and in this spirit it must bear not only constitutional but also moral responsibility. We are trying not only to get to know the problems but also to solve them.

I would like to draw attention to problems of such fundamental significance as the change in the production programs in the Heavy Engineering Works Martin, Dubnica, and Detva and in ZVL [Ball Bearing Plant] Povazska Bystrica; the modernization of the production of aluminum in Ziar nad Hronom, in the course of which great emphasis will be placed on a solution to the devastated environment; the finalization of the economic efficiency and ecological aspects of the production of nickel at Sered; but also other problems in a number of other factories. The question of the utilization of the capacities of the so-called special production has arisen in connection with the overall process of disarmament. The cut in this production had a great influence on last year's generation of national income in the Slovak Socialist Republic. Even though these enterprises are administered by federal central bodies, the Slovak Socialist Republic Government has been taking part in solving this serious problem. Within the framework of the Heavy Engineering Works Martin state enterprise alone, some 40 new or innovated products were introduced into production in 1989. For 1990 and subsequent years, the Martin enterprise is preparing the production of small diesel engines under license as well as the production of bulldozers and loading machines in cooperation with the FRG firm Hanomag.

Similar negotiations aimed at changes in the engineering production are underway with several foreign partners. You all are familiar with the fact that foreign partners from Canada, the United States, Norway, and other countries are interested in certain investments. This may sound very attractive but, for several reasons, we must really consider what is acceptable also for us. We devote particular attention to the solution of the production program of the Bratislava Automobile Works.

The [delay in the] construction of the hydrocracker unit [in the Slovnaft refinery in Bratislava] has complicated our life immensely, and continues to do so, because we now have a serious shortage of crude oil. We will have to take measures to secure enough gasoline for consumers. We will have to secure imports of gasoline and appropriate foreign exchange worth Kcs600 million for this purpose. We assume that the hydrocracker unit will go into operation in April.

As for the construction of the system of hydropower projects on the Danube, we are once again considering the possible ecological impact. Both the federal and our governments want to enter into new negotiations on this issue in such a way that we do not lose any time and the resources which have been invested there are not wasted.

We are giving priority attention to the solution of ecological problems. We are preparing a proposal for establishing a new central body, or council, of the Slovak Socialist Republic for the environment. [passage omitted] The government should discuss this proposal before the end of February. [passage omitted]

During the reception of ordinaries from all churches operating in the Slovak Socialist Republic on 9 January, progress was made in a constructive dialogue in the solution of their legitimate demands. This concerns, in particular, the [abolition of the] state's consent to pastoral activity, the creation of conditions for the education of the up-and-coming generation of clerics, the construction of buildings for religious services, the practical operation of monastic orders, the establishment of church institutions of social care, access to hospitals for clergymen, the salaries of clergymen, the solution of some legal-property issues, as well as the settling of relations between the Greek Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church. [passage omitted]

We come across the opinion that it is necessary to recall entire enterprise managements, all functionaries of national committees, or all functionaries of all kinds of institutions. [passage omitted] Only because they were in the leadership, only because they are members of the Communist Party or some other party. When we criticize past practices, we should not be resorting to the same sort of practices. This is wrong, uncivilized, and immoral. Let us not allow the frequently used terms morality and integrity to become discredited. [passage omitted]

We are opposed to chaos, disorder, arbitrariness, subjectivism, and, in the final analysis, to wrongs against individuals and society. If, however, the legal norms, including the Constitution, stand in the way of revolutionary changes, they must be quickly changed and brought into harmony with the aims of our democratic revolution. Such is the path of constitutionality, legality, and morality.

'Slovakia's Democratic Youth' Issues Statement

AU1801150990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Slovakia's Democratic Youth Demands..."]

[Text] Bratislava—Slovakia's Democratic Youth [Demokraticka mladez Slovenska] has asked CTK to publish a report stating, inter alia: "Slovakia's Democratic Youth [DMS] is a political organization of young people in Slovakia with a democratic way of thinking. It rallies the supporters of democracy and of our nation in the world. Anybody professing allegiance to the ideas of democracy and freedom, recognizing the principle of respect for a minority's rights, and rejecting totalitarianism in any form can become a DMS member. The DMS is enforcing the demand for truly equal rights of the young and the elderly, of men and women, of believers and nonbelievers, as well as of all nations and races. It demands the elaboration and consistent implementation of legal measures which would make impossible any and all efforts to achieve inordinate economic profit to the detriment of the life of both the present and the future generations. It is striving to achieve a status of truly equal rights in our state for the Slovak nation, the return of Slovak national symbols—the Slovak emblem and banner, and a change of the CSSR's state emblem. In the achievement of its goals, the DMS will programmatically cooperate above all with the Democratic Party, the Slovak National Heritage Foundation [Matica slovenska], the Stur Society, the Permanent Conference of Slovak Democrats in Exile [Stala konferencia slovenskych demokratickych exulantov], and all democratic youth organizations in our country and abroad." Please send your suggestions and comments on the DMS to the following address: Demokraticka mladez Slovenska, Safarikovo Square No. 4, 811 02 Bratislava.

New Parties, Leaders in Slovakia

AU1901124690

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 17 January on page 3 carries a 1,400-word feature prepared by Martin Krno entitled "With Limited Liability." The feature contains information on new political parties that have joined the Slovak National Front since 17 November 1989. Krno points out that, with the exception of the Public Against Violence movement and the Green Party, all the "better-known new political formations in Slovakia" have joined the National Front. As he explains, "The only criterion for joining the National Front at present is registration with the Slovak Socialist Republic Ministry of Interior and the Environment."

Krno first introduces the two political parties which, in addition to the Communist Party of Slovakia, had been members of the Slovak National Front prior to 17 November 1989—the Democratic Party (which had until 10 December 1989 been called Revival Party) and the Freedom Party. Krno mentions that, prior to 17 November 1989, the Democratic Party had "over 1,200 members," while the Freedom Party had "fewer than 1,300 registered members." As Krno observes, the two parties' purpose was "to create the semblance of political pluralism in Slovakia."

Krno then introduces the following "newly sprung up political formations" that have joined the Slovak National Front:

The Christian Democratic Movement (Krestanskodemokraticke Hnutie), whose "operation is based on the Christian perception of man and his responsibility before God." The movement's "basic organizational units are Christian Democratic Clubs." Ivan Carnogursky, "the older brother of the first CSSR deputy premier," is said to be the movement's "leading representative."

Party of Christian Democracy (Strana Krestanskej Demokracie), which is a "sociopolitical association of democratically-minded citizens who regard the ecumenical cooperation between all positive Christian forces as a guarantee of our society's progress." The party's chairman is Frantisek Satura.

Republican Party (Republikanska Strana). This party, which was founded at the end of December 1989 and operates statewide, advocates the principle of "more market—less state" and seeks the "debureaucratization and decentralization of state administration." Ivan Durisin is said to be the "party's representative in Slovakia."

Czechoslovak Agricultural Party, another party which operates statewide. Party for the Integration of Romanies in Slovakia (Strana Integracie Romov na Slovensku). This party, which will "seek the enhancement of the Romanies' cultural and living standards," is based in Kosice and its "Coordinating Committee" is chaired by Koloman Gunar.

Party of Independent Democrats (Strana Nezavislych Demokratov). The "representative" of this "centrist party," which "was founded in response to the political situation, in which the monopoly of one party is being replaced by another power monopoly," is Milan Kajan.

Trend of the Third Millennium Party (Strana Trend Tretieho Tisicrocia); Social Democratic Party in Slovakia (Socialnodemokraticka Strana na Slovensku); and Party of Democratic Socialism (Strana Demokratickeho Socialismu). The founding of these three parties is covered by previously filed items. The Third Millennium Party, which is based in Banska Stiavnica, is said to be led by Peter Mudry; the contact for Social Democratic Party is Ivan Pulicka, member of its preparatory committee; and the leader of the Party of Democratic Socialism is Igor Cibula.

Slovak Government Discusses Personnel Changes

LD1801210790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] We have just received a report from the session of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government, which met in Bratislava. It discussed a number of personnel and organizational issues and resolutions about the manner of implementing personnel changes in leading posts of the resorts, in the organizations of enterprises, in enterprises and in other bodies.

It released Dr Vladimir Cerevka and Dr Helena Jurkisinova from the posts of deputy ministers of culture. Dr Vincent Macovsky was released from the post of deputy minister and director of the Church Affairs Secretariat of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

The government appointed Ladislav Snopko to the post of first deputy of minister of culture and Frantisek Liptak to the post of deputy minister of culture.

The government has also recalled and at the same time appointed some other deputy ministers. Through the Slovak National Council it proposed to appoint (Rudolf Krc) to the post of director of the Slovak Statisticla Office and it proposed to the President of the Republic to appoint professor Dr Miroslav Kusy to the post of the chancellor of Comenius University.

The Slovak Socialist Republic Government agreed to appoint Roman Kalisky to the post of director of Czechoslovak Television with the premise that its jpresent director Jaroslav Hlinicky should hold the post until the day of his arrival. [as heard]

The government set up the Governmental National Economy council [rada pre narodohospodarsku politiku vlady] as its action and consultative body for drafting and implementing state economic policy. Jozef Markus has become its chairman. The government appointed Dr Ladislav Kosta as chairman of the government's legislative council [legislativna rada vlady].

The government also discussed the topical situation in the Slovak television and appointed its three representatives, the members of the government, to solve the issue directly with the television employees collective on the basis of dialogue.

The Slovak Socialist Republic Government adopted a statement on important revolutionary changes in our society, first and foremost on the manner of carrying out personnel changes in the management at all levels. Slovak Premier Milan Cic, will deliver the statement on radio and television.

Slovak Premier Delivers Statement

LD1901205890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 18 Jan 90

["Statement of the Slovak Government" delivered by Slovak Premier Milan Cic; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] All our society is going through important revolutionary changes aimed at a democratic, humane, socially just, free, and all-round prosperous society. It is natural that this revolution requires substantial changes in the management at all levels of state, economic, social, and cultural spheres, including principal personnel changes. These qualititive changes are frequently accompanied by open and objectively unavoidable conflicts, which, in their own way, concern each citizen and particularly leading personnel. People are often losing their sense of direction in them. [passage omitted listing personnel changes hitherto implemented in the key positions of Slovak government]

The government is aware of the complexity of the present situation in National Committees and recommends, if need be, to hold by-elections. It intends to and will consult with the National Committees on the most important questions of implementing people's power and state control.

We welcome the well-founded initiative actions of work collectives demanding personnel changes in the management of enterprises, their organizational units, and self-administration bodies, but also in other organizations and institutions in education, health care, trade, services, and in other spheres. It is the intention of the government that this process be accelerated in all our society and that those who cannot cope with meeting the tasks of this era should leave their posts. This process is unavoidable and it is possible to implement it on the basis of a valid legal system and in the enterprise sphere then in keeping with the law on state enterprise. [sentence as heard] [passage omitted on the government asking works collective at state enterprises to elect new management and work's councils; rules of recalling and appointing enterprise management]

The government demands that a speedy and well-thought-out procedure should be implemented in other spheres of public life, too, by proceeding from the principles of legality and morale, in the spirit of principles of building a law-governed state.

Personnel changes in leading posts within the ministries of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government must be ensured by respective ministers by 12 Feruary at the latest.

The basic criteria for assessing the work to date of the top management and the results of this work must be a high degree of their professionalism, competence, and moral qualities rather than their attitude to political parties or civic movements. Each personnel change must be preceded by all-round assessment of the results of the work to date of a respective worker, his moral integrity, and ability to work with people. It is necessary that the top management members of organizations enter at the work places into a dialogue with the representatives of Public Against Violence civic initiative, with works' collectives and their elected representatives. The government, therefore, requests civic initiatives to help in uniting views in this needed dialogue. Only in this way is it possible to ensure a maximum possible objectivity in selecting people. [passage omitted on only the best people being selected and given complete trust and respect]

We are entering the period of entrepreneurship, tough competition, and strict rules of market economy. The main comparisons with our own past have been outlived and the comparisons with the present-day world have started. The Slovak Socialist Republic Government appeals to the works' collectives that in their revolutionary resolve they adopt a well-considered approach, that they behave humanely, and that they respect the principles of ethics. Our revolution rules out settling of personal accounts, loss of dignity, and malice. In our society human dignity represents a lofty moral principle. This is why each released worker should have an opportunity to carry out the work corresponding to his qualificaiton and personal abilities. Also through this we are beginning to create a socially just society, in which each citizen will work for the benefit of his people.

The time requires that the works' collectives, their self-management bodies, and civic movements will understand this appeal and that they will implement the changes in the management bodies without disrupting the fulfillment of tasks with the knowledge that the dividing line in society is not a division between the members of political parties and politically nonaffiliated citizens, but that this line represents true professional and moral qualities of each individual. Let's not allow the negative consequences of our incidental, impatient, and hasty decision to be inflicted upon the smooth running of enterprises and organizations and upon the work of bodies and institutions. This will only endanger the standard of living and the guarantees of each of us.

The government of national understanding, which rose from the will of the people and which serves the people, is turning to fellow citizens with the request for understanding in tackling the problems linked with personnel changes. The Slovak people now have historical opportunity to prove that they know how to decide their fate in a civilized manner. The same goes for national minorities, who are an equal part of our society.

We rely on the enthusiasm, resourcefulness, and devotedness of students and young people, on the life experience and wisdom of the older generation, and on the healthy instinct and affection of our women. We also expect the support of clerics and believers. We believe that on the basis of tolerance and justice, we will be able to do everything for a peaceful, but at the same time resolute, course of personnel changes in all management structures on the principles of democracy and humanism.

More on Personnel Changes in Slovak Government

AU2201162090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "Personnel and Organizational Issues on the Agenda"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava (CTK)— At its meeting yesterday, the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] Government discussed a number of personnel and organizational issues as well as a statement on the manner of implementing personnel changes in the leading posts of Government departments, organizations, enterprises, and other bodies.

The government recalled Vladimir Cerevka, PhD, candidate of sciences, and Helena Juriscinova, PhD, from the posts of deputy ministers of culture of the Slovak SR and Vincent Macovsky, PhD, from the post of director of the Slovak SR Government Secretariat for Church Affairs. It appointed Ladislav Snopko (without party affiliation) to the post of first deputy minister of culture of the Slovak SR and Docent Engineer Frantisek Liptak, doctor of sciences (without party affiliation), to the post of deputy minister of culture of the Slovak SR. The government recalled Docent Engineer Frantisek Valasek, candidate of sciences, from the post of first deputy minister of finance, wages, and prices of the Slovak SR and Engineer Jan Pichonsky, candidate of sciences, and Docent Engineer Michal Olah, candidate of sciences, from the posts of deputy ministers of finance, wages, and prices of the Slovak Socialist Republic. It appointed Engineer Bela Bosak, candidate of sciences (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia); Engineer Marian Tkac, candidate of sciences (without political affiliation); and Engineer Anton Vavra, candidate of sciences (without political affiliation) as deputy ministers of finance, prices, and wages of the Slovak SR. The government recommended to the Slovak National Council Presidium that Engineer Rudolf Krc, candidate of sciences (without political affiliation), be appointed to the post of director of the Slovak Statistical Office. It proposed to the CSSR president that Professor Ladislav Melioris, doctor of natural sciences, be recalled from the post of rector of Comenius University in Bratislava and that Professor Miroslav Kusy, PhD, candidate of sciences (without political affiliation), be appointed to this post. The government instructed the premier of the Slovak SR to submit this proposal to the CSSR president. The Slovak SR government gave its consent to the appointment of Roman Kalisky (without political affiliation) to the post of director of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak SR, with the proviso that the present director, Jaroslav Hnilicky, should carry out this function until the latter's taking up his office. The government expressed thanks to Jaroslav Hnilicky for his activity.

The government set up the Council for the National Economic Policy of the Slovak SR Government as its coordinating, initiative, and consultative body for drafting and implementing state economic policy. Engineer Jozef Markus, doctor of sciences, first deputy premier of the Slovak SR Government, became the council's chairman. The post of the first deputy chairman of the council will be held by the first deputy premier of the Slovak SR Government and chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development and the posts of deputy chairmen of the council will be held by the minister of finance, prices, and wages of the Slovak SR and by the general director of the Czechoslovak State Bank for Slovakia.

Furthermore, the government decided on changes in the composition of the Legislative Council of the Slovak SR Government. It appointed Docent Ladislav Kosta, LLD, candidate of sciences, minister of justice of the Slovak SR Government, as chairman of the council; Maria Kolarikova, LLD, candidate of sciences, minister of the Slovak SR Government, as deputy chairwoman of the council; and Stefan Grman, LLD, candidate of sciences, director of the Legislative Section at the Office of the Slovak SR Government, as secretary of the council. [passage omitted]

Slovak CP Executive Committee Chairman Elected

LD2001220790 Prague CTK in English 1709 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Bratislava Jan 20 (CTK)—Members of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee elected at their session here today Peter Weiss chairman of the party Executive Committee. Jan Siroky, formerly chairman of the Executive Committee, Pavol Kanis and Vladimir Jakubac were elected secretaries of the committee.

It was stressed at the session that an important prerequisite for the change of the Slovak Communist Party into a modern left-wing party is acceleration of the process of its purgation and renewal in order that various streams and initiatives could be active in its framework.

In connection with preparations for elections to representative bodies the Slovak Communist Party must launch a campaign on the platform of active struggle for completing the democratic changes in society, not in the spirit of confrontation, social and political confrontation.

Slovak Party Supports Socialist International

LD2001223190 Prague CTK in English 1558 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Bratislava Jan 20 (CTK)—The Slovak Party of Democratic Socialism supports the declaration of principles of the Socialist International adopted at its 18th congress in Stockholm last year, coordinator of the Slovak party's leadership Igor Cibula said at today's meeting of the party in Bratislava.

The party bases its activity on the universal values of the European civilization which are reflected in the conception of social-democratic parties and which ensure free development of every individual and social justice for all citizens.

As regards the party's effort for admission to the Socialist International, Igor Cibula said that a delegation of the party will go to Vienna next week for talks with representatives of the Austrian Socialist Party. It will be the first step towards establishing contacts with the Socialist International.

New Leadership in Slovak Technical Society

AU2301085790 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 20 Jan 90 p 2

["(FJ)"-signed report: "With a New Leadership"]

[Text] Bratislava—Since the beginning of this week, the Slovak Council of the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society has had a new leadership. It is headed by Dr. Jozef Kollar. The Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society in Slovakia is preparing for its congress, convened for 17 March 1990, under his leadership. At present, annual members' meetings are under way where members air their views on the society's new structure.

Slovak Front Presidium Elects New Chairman

LD2201200390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] The Central Committee Presidium of the Slovak National Front was in session in Bratislava today. It approved a proposal to elect Anton Tazky as chairman of the National Front Central Committee. By this act it has rehabilitated him and made it possible for him to continue, after 20 years, in his post, which he had to leave because of his activity and views during the period 1968-1969.

Slovaks Establish National Union

AU2301161190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "National Union of Slovaks"]

[Text] Bratislava—The constituent general assembly of the National Union of Slovaks, called SLOVUNION, convened in the Forum Hotel in Bratislava yesterday [21 January]. Thus a voluntary community of people professing allegiance to our nation was established. The general assembly was welcomed and personally greeted by Jozef Markus, first deputy premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic. The community's moral aim is to return the Slovaks living outside the historical Slovak territory to the national womb. Those interested in becoming members can apply at the SLOVUNION's counter; the address is National Union of Slovaks, Secretariat, 815 55 Bratislava. The registration fee is Kcs20, the annual dues Kcs50.

Slovak CC Session Issues Resolution 20 Jan

AU2301202390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Jan 90 p 1

["Resolution" issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia at the Central Committee session in Bratislava on 20 January]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL]:

I. Approves:

1. The CPSL agenda;

2. The report of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee on the development of party work in Slovakia after the extraordinary congresses of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPSZ] and of the CPSL;

3. The plan of CPSL Central Committee work in the first quarter of 1990;

4. The course for reorganizing the apparatus and institutions of the CPSL Central Committee, and the new structure of the CPSL Central Committee apparatus;

5. The open letter to Marian Calfa;

6. The statement on the Slovak National Heritage Foundation [Matica slovenska];

7. The following CPSL Central Committee members who are to direct the disbandment of the CPSL's Regional Committees: Jozef Lukac—CPSL's East Slovak Regional Committee in Kosice; Stefan Lednar—CPSL's Bratislava City Committee; Dusan Podhorsky—CPSL's West Slovak Regional Committee in Bratislava; and Milan Mikulas—CPSL's Central Slovak Regional Committee in Banska Bystrica;

8. The CPSL Central Committee commissions:

a) for the comprehensive solution of the material and financial provisions for the CPSL's work;

b) for the analysis of deformations in the party's internal life and for its revival;

c) for the elaboration of the CPSL's election program;

e) for the final elaboration of the CPSL's Action Program and of the concept of CPSL activity;

f) for the assessment of the individual responsibility of former CPSL Central Committee members and functionaries in state and representative bodies since the 14th CPCZ Congress for the political mistakes perpetrated in the management of party work in Slovakia;

g) for the rehabilitation of CPCZ members who have been unjustly expelled and struck out; and

h) for socio-economic and ecological issues.

II. Releases:

1. Jan Siroky from his office as chairman of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee, and

2. Olga Biloruska from her function as CPSL Central Committee member.

III. Has elected:

1. Peter Weiss chairman of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee; and

2. Jan Siroky, Pavol Kanis, and Vladimir Jakubac secretaries of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee.

IV. Instructs:

1. The commission for the preparation of 1990 elections and the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee to submit to the CPSL Central Committee session the draft of the CPSL election program and the principles governing the course to be followed by the party and by its election staff during the election campaign.

Deadline: 24 Mar 1990

2. The CPSL Central Committee commissions to submit to the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee the draft of the orientation of their activities, including appropriate timetables.

3. The Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee to discuss, in context with the restructuring of the Slovak National Council [SNR], the resignation of those SNR deputies who no longer enjoy the confidence of voters and of the CPSL.

Deadline: by 1 Feb 1990

4. The Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee to deal with the comments and suggestions yielded by the discussion and to brief the next CPSL Central Committee session on the way they are to be implemented.

5. The Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee to invite the representatives of the Democratic Forum of Communists [DFK] to the CPSL Central Committee meetings.

V. Takes due note of:

1. The interim information about the state of CPSL property; and

2. Information on the wage scale of the members of CPCZ apparatus.

VI. Charges:

The Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee with the task of

1. Reorganizing PRAVDA, the CPSL Printing Combine, and the Party Enterprise of CPSL Central Committee Services, and establishing other CPSL economic facilities in the form of cooperatives and share-holding organizations; and of

2. Resolving the issues connected with the deployment of CPSL apparatus in collaboration with the deployment commission attached to the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

VII. Recommends:

The Political Executive Committee of the CPCZ Central Committee to consider at its very next session the issue of depoliticizing the army, the security, the judiciary, the prosecutor's office, and the auditing bodies.

Slovak Communists' Letter to Premier Calfa

AU2301202990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Jan 90 p 1

["Letter to CSSR Premier Marian Calfa" from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia—date not given]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Federal Premier, we have been surprised to learn that you have terminated your membership in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]. We cannot accept the reasons you have given for this step—namely, that in your government activity you would like to stand above the parties, on a professional level; that your personal attitude toward the party, to which you have belonged for a number of years, also plays a certain role in this; and that the people should consider your step to be your private affair. Surely you have not become a member of the government of national understanding as an expert standing above the parties, but as a citizen of Slovak nationality and a CPCZ member—on the basis of the agreement reached by the political forces at the roundtable.

Your appointment to your high state office was an expression of a certain correlation of political forces, of a joint effort to establish guarantees for social stability and a peaceful transition to democratic elections. For this reason, your step does not concern only your own conscience. It also poses a broader question of morality in our present policy, and the question of adherence to the political agreements concluded.

By your act you have provided a further reason for the citizens to cast doubt on the credit granted to the government of national understanding.

Sincerely, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia.

CPSL Central Committee Holds Session

AU2301213590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Jan 90 p 1

[Teodor Hudecek and Lubo Rabay report: "Continuing With the Democratization of Society"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (From our editors)—Perhaps the most surprising moment of Saturday's [20 January] Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee session was the proposal put forward by Jan Siroky, chairman of the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee, to resign from this post to which he had been elected last December at the extraordinary CPSL congress. He recommended to the Central Committee that Peter Weiss fill this post. Although this proposal, and especially its justification, were ardently debated, all members of the Central Committee who were present eventually agreed to it unanimously.

Jan Siroky's Statement

After the meeting, we took the opportunity to ask Jan Siroky about the reasons for this change: "Personal motives in no way led me to this. Completely new people were elected onto the Executive Committee, onto this collective organ, at the extraordinary congress. All its members have equal rights, but everyone should be responsible for what he is professionally and competently most qualified to do. After its extraordinary congress, the party placed itself on a platform to actively struggle for the culmination of democratic changes in society—a process that is highly dynamic at this time. In order to react quickly to the changing situation and to increase its capability for action the party must resolve its internal problems. Its programmatic renewal into a modern left-wing party now demands that it be headed by a theoretically prepared person, the kind of person we consider Peter Weiss to be. Similarly, it is important to organize and guarantee this process in the party's cadre policy. I think my experience would be better applied in this sector." [passage omitted]

Several of those present raised the issue of renaming the party. However, they concluded the argument about its name by stating that it will be more honorable to continue with the original name until the scheduled party congress.

So That Everyone Lives in Harmony With His Conscience

Peter Weiss made the main speech on ideological issues. We cannot overcome the crisis of confidence in the party without fundamentally renewing its drastically impaired ideological identity and without clarifying issues surrounding its social base, its place in the newly created political spectrum, its symbolism, and its name he said. In other words, the key task on the road towards its transition into a modern left-wing party is, besides a moral purge, its fundamental ideological rearmament. The issue is not only that, according to the current way of thinking, socialism and communism are often mechanically identified with totalitarianism. There are also serious theoretical problems such as specifying our attitude toward the European left as a whole and our attitude concerning theoretical starting points and evaluations of the communist movement in particular. This also involves specifying our attitude toward the historical legacy of the social democratic movement, evaluating historical experiences with the application of Leninism under our conditions, understanding democracy, and so on. We are learning to perceive life in its endless changeability. At the same time, we do not want to, and we cannot, rid ourselves of the right and obligation to seek our own answers to life's questions. We should proceed from the premise that, despite all the difficulties, our nation is capable through its own work and using modern humanistic and technological thinking to attain the level of civilized Europe. As a party we will endeavor to ensure that the current standard of living and the social certainties, which we must not only preserve but also expand, are well managed. We will speak out decisively against reprivatizing the national economy and the national wealth. On the contrary, we will strive for a society where everyone can live in harmony with his conscience.

CPSL Central Committee members were also briefed on progress in reorganizing the CPSL Central Committee's apparatus, the state of its property, and the measures proposed for CPSL economic activity; they also discussed the composition of CPSL Central Committee commissions and approved a resolution. [passage omitted]

Christian Democrats Claim 100,000 Members

AU2401130590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report from the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] More than 100,000 people in Slovakia have already applied for membership [prihlasilo se] in the Christian Democratic Movement. On Saturday [20 January] members of the Christian Democratic Clubs in Bratislava met at their first meeting to discuss the movement's ideological and organizational aims.

USSR's Silayev Arrives for Economic Talks

LD2201100990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0946 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A USSR government delegation led by Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Berlin on Monday for economic discussions lasting several days. The 43d session of the Joint Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the GDR and USSR is to begin in Berlin today.

After the 42d session in Moscow in May 1989, this is the first session by this body in the GDR since the start of democratic renewal. Silayev's new GDR counterpart in the joint government commission is Minister Professor Karl Gruenheid, who was appointed chairman of the Economics Committee of the Council of Ministers a week ago.

GDR delegation circles said that important signals for trouble-free cooperation with the main trading partner, the USSR, are expected at this session.

Coperation Considered

LD2201145190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1213 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The future GDR-USSR cooperation under the conditions of a radical economic reform in the two countries is the main content of economic discussions in Berlin. To this end, the Joint Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the GDR and the USSR met for its 43d session. New forms and contents of cooperation are to be worked out and introduced. Included in this are financial and legal arrangements for cooperation that is becoming increasingly close, it was stressed at the start.

The two parts of the government commission are chaired by Minister Professor Dr. Karl Gruenheid, chairman of the Economic Committee of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Prof. Gruenheid was appointed to his post a week ago. Also taking part in the discussions of the government commission are the directors-general of combines and the directors of important enterprises. Delegation leader Silayev said on his arrival at the airport that he had arrived in the GDR with the expectation that a new chapter in the relations between the GDR and USSR would be opened up. The chairman referred thus to the present restructuring of the economic relations between the two countries. The GDR is the Soviet Union's biggest partner among the CEMA countries. Operational, as well as strategic, tasks of cooperation with regard to the changes taking place will be discussed now.

It was learned from participants in the discussions that the period covered by these economic negotiations about the development of cooperation extends to 1995. They are to ensure cooperation in vital goods supplies that are beneficial to both sides. Thus a contribution to the economic and political stabilization and the opening up to the world market and a more effective participation by the two countries in the international division of labor is being made.

Also under discussion are future trade under world market conditions and steps to convert the currencies. Both sides consider that the way toward this is the still-closer direct cooperation of combines, production associations, enterprises, and research establishments of the two countries, it was said.

During the 3-day discussion, agreements signed earlier are to be adapted to the new requirements in the two countries, and new agreements will be concluded. In the latest government statement to the 14th People's Chamber session, Prime Minister Modrow stated the willingness to achieve a new quality of cooperation with the USSR through intensive economic cooperation and increasing exchanges of experience.

The discussions are taking place at a time of significant changes and restructuring in political and social life, Minister Gruenheid said at the opening. The GDR Government proceeds from the premise that the joint government commission, under the changed conditions, will have to play a greater role in the shaping of cooperation. To discuss and coordinate the new conditions and qualities that consist, above all, in turning toward market- economy principles and the greater independence of the combines, enterprises, institutes, and establishments in the two countries' cooperation, should be seen as one key area. One expression of this is the presence of directors-general at the discussions. They will be dealing directly with the agenda items and agreements affecting them.

The minister encouraged the participants to discuss at the meeting new ideas and projects, which should include common enterprises, cooperation with the USSR and other countries, the extension of direct relations, and, above all, the smooth trade in 1990.

Modrow Meets Commission

LD2401155490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1439 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Premier Hans Modrow today received the chairmen of the GDR-USSR Joint Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation—Minister Professor Kurt Gruenheid and USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Ivan Silayev, in Berlin for an exchange of views on the results of the consultations of the 43d meeting of the commission.

Modrow praised the constructive nature of the negotiations, which laid the foundations for further cooperation with the USSR, which is the GDR's largest trading partner, up to 1995. Economic cooperation in particular is extremely important for the existence of the GDR, particularly under the present conditions. Modrow expressed thanks for the selfless support of the USSR and its government at this complicated time. Coming shortly after the CEMA meeting in Sofia, the consultations will show that the GDR is rigorously continuing cooperation in CEMA and bilaterally.

Ivan Silayev stressed that relations will be given fresh impetus by the reform processes in both countries. But it is what has already been achieved, in which the Joint Government Commission has a large share, that makes possible the high degree of economic cooperation. The GDR is the USSR's biggest partner in CEMA; this was, is, and will remain so.

Modrow told press representatives that for the current year 95 percent of all GDR-USSR contracts were "signed and sealed." At the present time, this was "an exceptional amount." Preparations were being made for the future, both with regard to cooperation in CEMA and bilateral cooperation. He pointed out that a working group had been set up that, parallel to the work in the CEMA, will elaborate the principles and bases of this [the work in CEMA] by May.

Modrow said that the importance of relations between the two countries was evident from the fact that a good 40 percent of the GDR's foreign trade was with the USSR. New large-scale programs now had been established for ship building, microelectronics and metal-forming technology. They would create "a genuine and firm basis" for GDR enterprises. Both sides were open to cooperation with third parties. In this connection, he mentioned the FRG and other West European countries. GDR-USSR cooperation did not stand in the way of such trade relations. The economic reform opened the GDR to the Soviet Union in the same way as it offered a new and good basis for negotiations with the FRG and other EC countries.

At the news conference, Ivan Silayev said that they wanted to consolidate and actively develop what had been achieved, taking into consideration the economic and political restructuring. The emphasis was now changing to the increasing independence of the enterprises, combines, and firms. Here "the controlling influence of the government should of course be maintained." The government, the state, would create framework conditions for the cooperation of the specific partners. This would undoubtedly strengthen and supplement the joint work with regard to both the extent and the directions. The old system of centralized shaping and implementation of plans would be replaced by direct relations between enterprises. Third countries could also be involved in this.

Silayev stressed that the important programs that had been signed should also naturally be seen from the aspect of social security for the people in both countries. Here, too, the interests of the USSR and the GDR also absolutely corresponded.

Minister Gruenheid again took up the idea that the bilateral cooperation also included an even greater openness for relations with third parties, when this is useful. "Anyone who can contribute something to this is welcome." He stressed, however, that "we obtain vital raw materials from the USSR that cannot be replaced by anyone or anything." This concerned further important sectors of the economy, and here he named shipbuilding, microelectronics, nuclear power stations and the cars from the USSR that were very much in demand. Together they must create the conditions for improved ability to supply on both sides. A way to this was the expansion of direct relations.

He pointed to the favorable social effects for the individual worker, engineer, and technician that the annual trade of 70 billion marks between the GDR and the USSR brought with it. "The present agreements provide secure prospects for your work in the next 5 years."

Meeting Ends

LD2401172790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The 43rd meeting of the GDR-USSR Joint Government Commission ended in Berlin today with the signing of nine important agreements on economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

In the presence of Prime Minister Modrow, the two chairmen of the commission, Minister Karl Gruenheid and USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Ivan Silayev, other ministers and government representatives and also general directors on both sides signed the documents. They concern the areas of shipbuilding, optical and mechanical equipment manufacture, the manufacture and supply of cold stores, the exchange of different kinds of paper and cardboard, and cooperation in the production and supply of roller bearings, cotton-combing machinery and rubber technical products. Research cooperation in concrete and reinforced concrete was agreed.

The government commission has set up a working group to elaborate the necessary steps for a smooth and mutually advantageous continuation of economic relations under market-economy principles. [passage omitted]

UK Foreign Secretary Hurd Arrives for Visit

LD2201202490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1856 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd arrived in the GDR on Monday evening for an official visit. At Schoenefeld Airport, he was welcomed by his GDR counterpart, Oskar Fischer.

In the course of his 3-day visit, Douglas Hurd will have meetings with Prime Minister Hans Modrow, acting State Council Chairman Manfred Gerlach, and Foreign

Trade Minister Gerhard Beil. Meetings with representatives of the roundtable and the churches are also planned.

Prior to his departure, Hurd expressed in an interview with ADN the desire of the British Government for relations between Great Britain and the GDR to develop into mutually fruitful cooperation. His visit offers an opportunity "to undertake a personal assessment of the exciting changes taking place at present in Germany," the secretary said. "In the UK we wholeheartedly welcomed the reforms, all the more so because they took place peacefully. We expect this process to continue."

Toasts to Cooperation

LD2201223290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2055 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—GDR and UK Foreign Ministers Oskar Fischer and Douglas Hurd, respectively, spoke for an expansion of bilateral cooperation tonight at a dinner in the Berlin Palais Unter den Linden. In toasts, the politicians expressed the certainty that the process of democratization in the GDR will produce completely new opportunities for cooperation.

For the government of the GDR, the securing of a peaceful future for all the peoples on the continent remains the main task, said Fischer. Gratifyingly, the relations between states are today more and more marked by a change toward detente. He touched upon unilateral measures by his country and on disarmament measures to be expected in the future. In his view, the start of negotiations on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe will proclaim a real change in international relations. "For the occupants of a joint European home, nuclear bombs in its foundations are no guarantee for coexistence in peace and security."

The election campaign has already begun in the GDR, said Fischer. "We hope that it will be fair, without attempts at interference from outside, and that it will result in a parliament and a government that act in line with the needs of our people." This was also in accordance with the interests of the states and peoples of Europe, who need a reliable and predictable partner in the heart of the continent. The government of the GDR will do nothing to damage the stability of Europe, the foreign minister said. It is aware that both German states, their borders, and their relations with each other are embedded in European and world politics. Going it alone will give rise to great dangers for all states and peoples. "A German-German community of treaties, as we understand it, will not negate or even violate ithe interests and experiences of other states."

It was a "memorable privilege to visit Berlin and the GDR at a time when their people are changing history," said Douglas Hurd. He stressed the readiness of Great Britain to give support to the GDR in the execution of the process of democratization and, in particular, in the holding of free elections. In order to hold legal and successful elections, there must be "equality of opportunity, for all political parties." There should be fair access to the press, radio, and television, and the public should have confidence in the fair execution of this process. "All this is not easy, and we are observing with sympathy how the GDR builds and rebuilds a framework that Great Britain needed centuries to develop."

Hurd said that now there is "the prospect of a generally fruitful relationship between our two countries." As in other areas, thus also in foreign trade, which up to now has had an annual volume of only 270 million pounds sterling, there are opportunities for development. London is expecting with satisfaction the introduction of a market economy in the GDR. It is hoped, among other things, that in the future there will be laws here regulating capital investments and allowing British companies to cooperate more closely with the GDR.

Britain is interested in signing an agreement with the GDR on the protection of investments, Hurd said. One also wants to facilitate travel between the two countries. "We are prepared to increase the exchange in scientific and cultural spheres, to sign cultural agreements, and to help you to meet the new need for English teaching." Douglas Hurd announced that some 30 polytechnics in his country agreed to join in a project to be financed together with the British government and that makes grants available to young people from the GDR. It is also intended to include the GDR in Britain's so-called 'know-how' fund in the future.

The secretary stressed his country's support for negotiations between the European Community and the GDR on the signing of a cooperation agreement. "The 12 member states of the EC will remain a group open to the outside, open for the rest of our continent."

Britain welcomed the prospect of closer cooperation between the two German states. He said that the future relationship between them had to be decided in a free and democratic way. "But this relationship is also of interest to others. Whatever decisions are made, they should supply concepts that are compatible with the future architecture of the whole of Europe." [passage omitted]

Modrow, Hurd Hold Talks

LD2301124290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1145 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd affirmed Great Britain's interest in a rapid extension of cooperation with the GDR on Tuesday in Berlin. Following a discussion with Prime Minister Hans Modrow, Hurd stated to the press that he now reckoned on "a step-by-step acceleration of cooperation, not only with Great Britain, but also between the European Community and the GDR, to the extent to which the declaration in favor of political and economic reforms takes shape here."

Negotiations between the GDR and the EC on a trade and cooperation agreement are a first step on this path. "I foresee further progress will be made after the elections in May." While Great Britain naturally cultivates very close cooperation with the FRG as a partner in the EC and an ally in NATO, relations with the GDR have to date been insufficiently developed. There is now a desire to introduce practical steps to develop cooperation between both states and to grant help in the GDR's transition to a free political and economic system. "We in Great Britain understand completely that it is fundamentally necessary to safeguard stability during this process in the GDR."

Prime Minister Modrow explained in this connection the efforts that are being taken so the GDR can approach the elections under stable conditions.

Hans Modrow stated to the press that his government is concerned about a very broad consensus in the country so that stability is preserved and all preconditions are created on this basis for free democratic elections on 6 May. All forces should display levelheadedness in these days, regardless of their political direction. Modrow spoke in favor of an election climate in which "we do not solely struggle against each other and come to terms with the past." A phase should now commence "in which one must face the future."

All forces should be interested in the existence of a political culture in the country. "I have been able to hear that precisely such expectations are being directed from without at the German Democratic Republic." Modrow said it is important "the election movement, which is developing more and more, remain really nonviolent, that it give people the possibility of informing themselves about the parties' policies, and that they do not experience the spread of right-wing of left-wing extremism, which does not allow the required space for real political formation of opinion."

Modrow also said that the talk with Douglas Hurd confirmed for him that Great Britain as well sees the GDR within the European process, that the GDR is a "European factor," and, therefore, a partner for Great Britain.

Asked for a statement on the German question, Modrow said one should now do "what Europe expects from us today—a treaty-based community between both German states that contributes to maintaining and shaping trust in the European process, and all further steps will take place within this framework."

Fischer Discusses Talks

LD2301143390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1230 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and Great Britain intend to widen their parliamentary contacts, according to GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, on Tuesday in Berlin, after an official talk with his British counterpart, Douglas Hurd. Economic and scientific-technical relations have been fixed as the main pillar. In this connection, he mentioned the strengthening of the treaty basis. An agreement dealing with double taxation should be signed, for example. Direct contact between institutions should be promoted for the expansion of cultural cooperation. The erection of cultural centers in the two capitals is being considered. This cannot take place immediately, of course, the minister conceded. Both sides have again spoken out for an extension and deepening of overall relations. One should already begin thinking today about the period after the elections.

The British foreign Secretary met in the same day in Leipzig with the area council chairman, Jochen Draber. He then spoke with scientists and students of English at the Karl Marx University. A meeting with church representatives in the Nikolai Church is on the agenda for late afternoon.

Financial Help Promised

LD2401135290 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpt] British Foreign Secretary Hurd has promised the GDR financial assistance for its reforms. A fund will be set up for this purpose for certain projects, Hurd told the press today at the end of his 3-day visit to the GDR. Cultural centers in London and Berlin are planned for the improvement of cultural contacts, he said. The assistance must be preceded by measures for the stabilization of the GDR. The complicated process of democratization can be realized only after free elections. [passage omitted]

Hurd News Conference

LD2401152490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1409 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has underscored Britain's interest in guaranteeing the GDR's internal stability on the path to elections. During his 3-day official visit to the GDR, he explained to his interlocutors the great importance from the British point of view that the elections in May "should be regarded as completely free and fair by everyone, regardless of their views," Hurd said in Berlin today at an international news conference. Only then could the "future prospects of the GDR be taken into consideration through its own newly elected government and through its friends throughout the world."

Douglas Hurd stressed that Britain unconditionally accepts the right to self-determination of the people in the two German states. Each proposal for German reunification must, however, be seen in a context in which many other countries, including Britain, the other EC member states, the victorious powers, and the Helsinki Final Act signatory states are included.

The Secretary underlined that "German membership in NATO must remain a decisive element of the system of

West European security." GDR membership in the EC is not ruled out by Britain, but it is linked to two important preconditions, Hurd said. The first is political democracy. Other countries, too, were only able to become EC members once they had overcome authoritarian regimes. Moreover, potential members must accept the market economy rules of the EC, which include renouncing a state policy of subsidies and command economy. He does not yet, therefore, regard the question of EC membership for the GDR as topical, but it will no doubt be posed at the appropriate time.

Britain is presently trying to establish what specific help it can provide for the democratization of the GDR and to grant that support quickly. This includes, among other things, using the "know-how" fund to help provide the necessary expertise in the transition to a market economy. The Secretary spoke in favor of the expansion of trade between the two countries. A high-ranking GDR delegation will shortly discuss the promotion of British investments and British business in the GDR with businessmen in London. What are required now are laws on investment protection and joint ventures that in his view should not be too restrictive, the Secretary stated. Here, a flexible approach by the GDR is hoped for. In Britain, foreign capital investment of up to 100 percent is permissible, for example, and the effects on its own economy are quite positive, Hurd said. An agreement on the avoidance of double-taxation is ready for signature. Hurd announced an easing of visa requirements for businessmen from the GDR and negotiations on a new and more comprehensive cultural agreement.

During an ensuing meeting with GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, Hurd invited his counterpart to visit Britain.

Economic Relations Discussed

LD2401193190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1707 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil received British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd for a talk in Berlin today. The politicians discussed the expansion of trade and economic relations between the two countries, particularly through the deepening of industrial cooperation and investment by British firms in GDR projects.

Visit Ends

LD2401194290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1756 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd ended his three-day official visit to the GDR this afternoon. Speaking to Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, the guest again said he was impressed by the desire for democratic renewal in the GDR that he encountered everywhere. A Foreign Ministry statement in Berlin says that Hurd praised the open statements of his interlocutors. They helped to deepen his knowledge about the present state and problems associated with the GDR's development. In the talks with Professor Manfed Gerlach, acting chairman of the State Council, People's Chamber President Dr. Guenter Maleuda, Prime Minister Dr. Hans Modrow and Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, agreement was reached that cooperation can be expanded in all spheres on the present good foundations of relations. The ministers agreed to stimulate dialogue at all levels and in all spheres and also to strengthen the consultations between the foreign ministers and embassies of the two states. The GDR foreign minister was invited to pay an official visit to the UK. Meetings between ministers and representatives of scientific institutions are to be promoted. They also want to support more effective parliamentary contacts and to intensify foreign trade relations as a main pillar of relations between the two states, as well as to strengthen economic, scientific-technical and cultural-scientific cooperation. They agreed to stimulate new forms of mutually advantageous cooperation after the creation of the relevant legal preconditions in the GDR and to reach relevant contractual agreements. The facilitation of contacts between people should be served by envisioned improvements in travel, starting with business travelers and in student exchanges.

FRG Asked To Reveal Security Figures

AU2401130790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jan 90 p 1

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "Learning From the GDR"]

[Text] Since Monday morning [15 January], I have known exactly how many permanent employees and "voluntary" members the former GDR Ministry of State Security had, and I have also known the exact sum that was devoured by this state within the state. The entire weapons arsenal of the Stasi state security system, including signal pistols, was "listed" at the roundtable, and the comprehensive structures of the institution were disclosed. Even if representatives of the New Forum described the report, which I found very frightening, as somewhat dubious, I would like to stress the following: I cannot think of a state that has provided such open, detailed, and comprehensive information on security issues! The fact that all this took place at the pressure of the opposition does not reduce the value of what happened. Quite the contrary.

We recommend other countries to follow our example. The roundtable session was also aired by the Second German Television, and many a FRG citizen may have asked himself whether a similar public hearing on the activities of the FRG Office for the Protection of the Constitution might be organized in the FRG. The Greens have already called on the government to provide information on the number of full-time employees and the number of agents that work for the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. They also want to know *how many persons are employed to listen in on tele*phone conversations, and what the Office for the Protection of the Constitution costs the taxpayer. The slogan of the information campaign is: "Learning from the GDR..."

FRG Military Policy Comes Under Criticism

AU2401175290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jan 90 p 2

[Wolfgang Wolf commentary: "Security not the Rearguard"]

[Text] The first German-German top-level military meeting has taken place in Vienna. Lieutenant General Graetz (National People's Army) and Admiral Wellershoff (Bundeswehr) spoke of a good atmosphere after the meeting, and stated that the talk was open, honest, and businesslike.

Such meetings—even if they do not yield immediate results—promote confidence and, in this way, contribute to greater stability, which is desired by all sides. Why should security issues be the rearguard in the process of German-German rapprochement? Ministers in all kinds of spheres meet—why not the defense ministers as well? GDR Defense Minister Hoffmann has submitted a proposal, but Stoltenberg does not seem to be very interested. He says there is no need to act. Does he want to leave the entire sphere of security and defense policy to Foreign Minister Genscher, for whatever reasons?

There is no doubt that specific steps, as are currently under discussion in Vienna, would be accelerated by German-German initiatives aimed at disarmament and confidence building. Such proposals might be taken up by the two alliances, and they could be worked out as a joint standpoint and published subsequently. This would certainly relieve the uneasiness and even fears of our European neighbors in view of the planned treaty-based community and security community of the two German states. This would also dispel fears among GDR citizens that result from existing disparities. On the one side there is a strong Bundeswehr, and on the other there is a reformed and renewed National People's Army. As is known, military service has been reduced to 12 months in the NVA, and the total strength of the NVA will be reduced to 110,000-120,000 men if corresponding results are achieved at the Vienna talks.

Stoltenberg has little to offer in this respect. Instead of shortening military service, he considered extending it from 15 to 18 months. As a matter of fact, the peacetime strength is to be reduced from 495,000 to 470,000 men by 1996, but the wartime strength of the Bundeswehr, which comprises 1.34 million soldiers will not be affected by this.

Ensuring peace with fewer weapons? This is hardly compatible with the fact that the Bundeswehr placed 8,600 orders for military equipment and 140,000 other orders involving DM21.5 billion (excluding construction *measures) last year with the industry, and that it is facing* financial obligations amounting to DM27.6 billion for developments and procurements in the sphere of defense as of 1990. The FRG Defense Ministry apparently sees a need for action—but in the wrong direction.

FRG Attitude to Demonstrators Under Attack

AU2401222190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Jan 90 p 2

[Fabian Faber commentary: "He Who Does Not Want To Hear..."]

[Text] It was only possible to guess the extent of the damage done by the people who stormed the former State Security headquarters on Normannenstrasse in Berlin when Western television reports said: That is not as bad as all that. Nobody was injured, no cars were overturned or set on fire—as had been the case, for example, in the West Berlin district of Kreuzberg. "We are used to quite different things." The tenor of most press commentaries, in which understanding and sympathy was shown for those who had thrown stones and forced doors open, was similar. After all, "He who does not want to hear, must be made to feel," DIE WELT wrote.

In the FRG, the concept of violence is connected with concrete contents: sit-down blockades in front of missile bases and poison gas depots, demonstrations against the western runway in Frankfurt, the police encirclement in Hamburg, and so on. By the way, opponents of missiles are still summarily sentenced. Apparently, this is right in the opinion of DIE WELT. "On the other side," meaning the GDR, one is confronted with "the justified indignation of tormented and persecuted people," while the people in the FRG have to deal with "bawling and violent demonstrations on the streets of the democratic law-governed state," against which the toughest countermeasures are appropriate.

This is also the message of the report that the "Independent Government Commission for Prevention and Control of Violence," established 2 years ago, handed over to the chancellor on Tuesday [16 January]. "Only if the monopoly of legitimate physical violence is granted to the law-governed state and attempts to undermine it are decidedly countered can the peaceful coexistence in a pluralist, democratic society be preserved and well-ordered freedom be secured, in which the rights of the individual and those of the others are carefully balanced," it is stated. Accordingly, the commission recommends a catalogue of more extensive measures, for example, limiting the influx of foreign population groups, detaining potential violent criminals at checkpoints for a maximum of 4 days, extending the registration service, increasing compulsory registration, and so on.

The question of how to deal with the citizens' fears arises for every state. One also has to find an answer to this in the GDR before an escalation of violence. It can only be a reasonable and considerate security partnership and not a police state. While the further extension of the state's authority to take action against protesting citizens may be considered in the FRG, this cannot be our way.

Kohl's Decision on Treaty Community Viewed

AU2301162990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jan 90 p 2

[Werner Otto editorial from Bonn: "The Chancellor's Change of Mind"]

[Text] At a news conference in Bonn several days ago, Helmut Kohl expressed extreme annoyance. He was really angry at the unsolicited advice given by some politicians of the Free Democratic Party of Germany [FDP] and the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] not to enter into a treaty community with the GDR for the time being. The chancellor rejected the demand as "totally incomprehensible" and said that he would sign it "this spring."

On Tuesday [16 January], he changed his mind, stating that there would be no treaty community with the GDR before 6 May. No matter what may have caused Kohl to change his mind in the considerably heated election campaign here—we do not understand his change of mind. All the less so, if we compare his decision with the arguments that the chancellor put forward several days ago to justify the conclusion of such a treaty community as soon as possible, when he said that it was necessary to let the people in the GDR know that something was being done now; they should know where the two German states were heading in Europe, that conditions must be created to make them all stay in the country; and: "We must do a good job in the months to come."

There is no doubt that hard work is being done—even without the legal bases and firm framework conditions that the FRG has called for time and again. Debates are being held around the clock, negotiators are busy, agreements are being prepared or drafted. Now that the decisive moment has come, and many individual elements should be combined to form a document in principle that would offer many prospects, the Bonn hand that should take an oath makes a fist.

The chancellor said that, of course, he intended to continue negotiations, and the process leading to a treaty community should be continuously continued. In this respect, the question is logical: If Modrow is trustworthy as a partner in talks, why is he not as a partner to a treaty? The argument that Modrow and his government could adorn themselves with borrowed plumes is narrow- minded. Those who say so act against their statement that the only thing that counts are the interests of the citizens in both German states. The point is to guarantee prospects of a peaceful future that must be energetically started and based on solidarity.

No Census Cards for Entering FRG Citizens

LD2301204790 EAst Berlin ADN International Service in German 1643 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Interior Ministry Press Department announced that beginning 24 January, the issuing of census cards to FRG and West Berlin citizens for visa-free entry into the GDR will cease. Census cards for visa-free transit journeys between the FRG and Berlin (West) will continue to be used because of the preferential treatment of trips in this traffic, as agreed in the transit agreement of 17 December 1971. A further simplification of these census cards is being considered.

1990 Trade Protocol With Hungary Signed

AU2401181990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "1990 Trade Protocol with Hungary Signed"]

[Text] East Berlin—The 1990 protocol on the mutual supply of goods and services between the GDR and the Republic of Hungary, which was agreed in Berlin on Friday [19 January], provides for a trade volume of R2 billion. Exports from the GDR mainly include products from the sphere of machine building and electrical engineering and electronics, particularly commercial vehicles, agricultural machinery, communications and writing equipment, devices to be used in the sphere of science, and plants and equipment for the chemical industry. It was not possible to fulfill Hungary's wishes for the supply of a number of finished goods and spare parts. The GDR continues the traditional deliveries of chemical products as well as technical consumer goods, including washing machines, freezers, motorcycles of less than 50 cubic centimeter capacity, and household sewing machines. Hungary's exports include mainly equipment and parts for the vehicle and electronics industry, ventilation and dust-extraction equipment, equipment for energy production, Ikarus buses, and products of communications technology. Hungary will also supply agricultural products, such as fresh and processed fruit and vegetables, as well as wine and sparkling wine, and household refrigerators, shoes and textile products.

Modrow Has 'No Comment' on Party Membership

LD2501121190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1128 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—News agencies reported today that GDR Premier Hans Modrow was prepared to let his membership in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism lapse until 6 May to make possible the formation of a grand coalition.

In response to a question from ADN on whether he wished to confirm or deny the reports, the premier said: "No comment!"

People's Chamber To Meet 29 Jan

LD2501133190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1204 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 15th session of the GDR People's Chamber commences this coming Monday [29 January] at 10.000 CET [0900 GMT].

On the proposed agenda are i.a. the first reading of the law on the elections to the GDR People's Chamber, information and reports from the GDR public prosecutor general, and a Council of Ministers report on the situation in the national economy and conclusions concerning stability.

The People's Chamber Presidium has requested the Berlin People's Police Presidium to institute security measures for the 15th session to enable the supreme people's representation to work without disturbance. The serious events during the 14th session on 11 January give rise to these precautions.

GDR television and radio will broadcast the parliamentary session live.

Leipzig People's Police Demonstrate

LD2401163490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1517 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Flashing blue lights and sirens loudly and visibly announced a demonstration in the center of Leipzig this afternoon by about 3,000 People's Police from the city itself and from the Leipzig rural district. They were proclaiming their wish for a security partnership with all democratic forces and for the elimination of the population's mistrust of the People's Police. The police had benners with them with slogans such as "We, too, are the people," "For a democratic police," "The Criminal Investigation Department is not the Stasi," and "We were also deceived."

The procession came from the main train station and assembled in Leipzig Market Place, where at a rally the policemen called for a statement by those responsible for using them against the people on 2 and 7 October last year, the quickest possible clarification of the events on these days with a ruthless disclosure of the background and the people behind it, and punishment of the guilty persons. They protested against a general accusation against all poicemen and called for a clear legal basis for their work.

Workers Hold Warning Strike in Dresden

LD2401155290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1418 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Working people from factories and establishments in Dresden went on a 1-hour warning strike at midday Wednesday [24 January]. Called by employees in the special production department of the publicly owned enterprise Hochvakuum, they put down tools from 1300 to 1400. Their demands are directed against the preservation and renewal of old power structures in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism and the restoration of secret services. The strikes spoke in favor of reforms, which in their opinion, had stopped hitherto at the factory gates.

No Agreement on Opposition Joining Government

LD2401194290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1720 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The representatives of opposition parties and movements represented at the roundtable were not able to decide on possibly joining the Modrow government after 5 hours of deliberations in Berlin. Social Democratic Party Executive member Martin Gutzeit confirmed in response to an enqury from ADN that the talks will be continued at the same place on Friday. Asked about further details, he pointed out that the participants had agreed to confidentiality about the course of the negotiations. [passage omitted]

SED Members Not 'Enemies' of Constitution

AU2401171390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Jan 90 p 1

[Gerd Prokot commentary: "Viewpoint: Who Threatens Whom?"]

[Text] There are only 15 weeks to go before election day on 6 May. This is not much if one takes into considerations the tasks that have to be solved by then. To mention only the most important point, the electoral law has not yet been accepted by the roundtable. It is to be discussed in public before being adopted by the Peoples' Chamber. On 18 May [date as received] the election committee is to begin its work. There will be problems, but so far the timetable has been observed. Two preconditions are indispensable in this respect: First of all, conditions must be created that make possible free elections. This includes more than an electoral law. Political stability and the equality of opportunities for all who participate in the elections must be ensured as well. Second, all parties and groups must make it completely clear that they want fair elections.

Both preconditions seem uncertain at the moment. Political stability is in danger if the government is undermined from the inside and dismantled from the outside. Elections in a country that is ungovernable—how should this work? The second danger lies in attempts to excommunicate the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] from the outset. Voices are being raised among opposition circles that the SED-PDS should be banned as an "organization that is hostile to the Constitution." It was "wrong not to eliminate the SED from the beginning," DIE WELT concurred.

Branding hundreds of thousands of honest party members as enemies of the Constitution and depriving the voters of the freedom of choice—is this the new equality of opportunities? The SED-PDS wants these elections, and it needs them more than any other party to legitimize itself. It does not want to exclude anybody, but does not want to be excluded either.

SED-PDS Political Education Commission Formed

AU2401173890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Press release"]

[Text] A Political Education Commission was established by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] on 19 January. Members of the party's Executive Committee, scientists from academies and universities, members of SED-PDS area executive committees, and grass-roots functionaries belong to it. Lothar Bisky, who heads the honorary commission as a member of the Presidium of the party's Executive Committee, emphasized its concern to foment the process of the party's basic renewal by a militant intellectual life. Any dogmatism, phrasemongering, and outdated training forms have to be thoroughly eliminated. The party schools are to become attractive centers for communication and various public political discussions. The commission will offer topics for discussion that are to primarily help the basic organizations to stimulate the communication on vital questions of our people.

Dr. Andre Brie was appointed deputy chairman of the Political Education Commission.

SED-PDS To Transfer Property to Public

LD1401194490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1506 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Eleven newspaper publishing concerns and 21 printing works, hitherto the property of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], are to be transferred to public ownership. This proposal was submitted by the party executive Presidium to the party executive on Sunday, according to a press statement.

The Zentrag, which belonged to the SED-PDS, comprised a total of 16 newspaper publishing concerns and 26 printing works together with their premises. Following confirmation of this proposal "to break up this concentration," negotiations are to be started between the party executive and the government and work forces, which are to be concluded by 30 June of this year, a relevant resolution of the SED-PDS Presidium says.

Concerning the other Zentrag enterprises, a decision proposal will be worked out within the next few days. This also applies to the party's own book publishing houses. The enterprises of Dewag (German publicity and advertising company) and of the Intertext foreign language service are likewise to be transferred to public ownership following the relevant confirmation by the party executive.

It also emerged from the statement that the Presidium is informed that the Genex Geschenkdienst Gmbh is party property. "This is acceptable to some extent only if one realizes that, essentially, support for progressive movements worldwide was financed from this firm's financial gains," it was said. "In the interests of cleansing the party, this firm must be transferred into public ownership immediately."

Regarding the 37 guest houses and holiday homes with a capacity of 1,914 beds, administered centrally by the former Central Committee, it has been proposed to the party executive to retain only those projects that are acquired, or built, in a clearly legal manner with the party's financial resources.

A number of projects, where the kind and manner of acquisition can no longer be clarified, or where it is clear that this acquisition as regards the original premises had been free of charge, should be taken into ownership by the government for further use. These projects have a total capacity of 1,033 beds. The remaining places should be used for members of the party, for foreign guests and tourists.

It was recommended to the party's area executive to proceed in like manner, inasmuch as this has not already happened.

'Communist Platform' of SED-SDS Statement

LD0801143790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1209 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"We want to unite all who, together with us, want to preserve communist ideology in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] and include it in their policy." This is noted in a statement by the Communist Platform of the party founded in Buckow at the end of December.

It is a matter of course for their members to work within the framework of the valid party statute and to participate constructively and critically in the working out of and realization of their resolutions. The platform is open for those "who out of disappointment or because of their various reservations are no longer or not yet members of our party" and for members of the SED-PDS who do not want to joint us directly but are interested in our work.

Wittenberg Democratic Awakening To Join SPD

AU2401181790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Democratic Awakening in Wittenberg Will Join SPD"]

[Text] Wittenberg—The members of the Wittenberg section of the Democratic Awakening will dissolve their organization on Sunday [21 January] and join the Social Democratic Party. One of the most prominent representatives, Pastor Friedrich Schorlemmer, stated that the attempt to unite liberal, conservative, and social democratic or green-alternative forces, was not successful. As a matter of fact, the program that was adopted has been accepted by a strong group of national-conservative forces within the organization, but it plays practically no role. The consensus among these forces is based on a clear rejection of socialist traditions.

Text of CDU Political Advertisement

AU2401172390 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 19 Jan 90 p 3

["Text" of full-page Christian Democratic Union advertisement]

[Text] Christian Democratic Union [CDU]—the party of the center. CDU —return to the future.

Against right-wing and left-wing extremism.

Fight with us:

For a liberal, democratic law-governed state through dividing the power between government, parliament, jurisdiction, and through control!

—free elections with equal opportunities for all parties

—abolition of the supremacy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in the media

—no party organizations in enterprises and institutions

—education based on parental rights and the individuality of the children

—nonviolent solution of conflicts between individuals, groups, and states

For the social market economy—against socialist experiments!

—Performance must at long last be permitted to develop and must be worthwhile

—Performance is the precondition for a real social policy

—Prosperity in a healthy environment

—Social justice instead of communist egalitarianism

—Thorough care for the elderly, instead of meager benefits for the old

—Solidarity between the old and socially weak, and harmony within the great family of all citizens

—Overcoming the misery in the medical care sector and establishment of an efficient health sector

—Maintaining and reconstructing our declining cities and villages

For German Unity with Freedom and Self-determination!

—the growing together of the German states as the driving force for the European process of integration

—internal and external peace

—gradual rapprochement and disarmament—security for our neighbors—leaving existing borders untouched

Together with the CDU for a united, peaceful, democratic, and economically healthy Germany in a united Europe.

CDU Party Executive Committee, Otto-Nische-Strasse 59/60, Berlin 1086.

'Democracy Now' Says Country Must Be Governable

AU2401201390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Ensure That Country Remains Governable"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Friday [19 January] the citizens' movement "Democracy Now" made the following declaration at its assembly of national representatives: The citizens movement "Democracy Now" welcomes the statement of the parties and groupings represented at the roundtable, whereby the continuation of the work of the current government should be ensured. Further, it is stated that the former bloc parties and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism have the political duty to guarantee that the country remain governable until the 6 May elections. The view was emphasized that the work of the Modrow government must be critically and constructively supplemented, and that support must be given to measures that are aimed at stabilizing the GDR, as far as the economy and its security policy are concerned.

'Reps' Party To Found Mecklenburg Branch

AU2401150190 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Pupil of Schoenhuber Wants To Set Up GDR Group"]

[Excerpt] Hans-Rudolf Gutbrodt told ADN that the district city of Parchim is to become the "GDR capital" of the Republicans within a few days.

He is one of the 500 registered "Rep" members from the GDR who were mentioned by party chief Schoenhuber, former SS standartenfuehrer, at the program party congress in Rosenheim. Gutbrodt, who has been a member of this right-wing extremist FRG party since 12

December 1989, is 40 years old, divorced, an engine fitter by profession, but now works as a slaughterman.

In the interview Gutbrodt said: "At the end of January, or in early February at the latest, the founding congress of the Mecklenburg land group of our party in the GDR is likely to be held here in Parchim."

Gutbrodt does not see any signs of neo-fascism in his party. He said that the Republicans were observing the GDR laws. About his most important political objectives, Gutbrodt said the following: "The establishment of German unity within the borders of 1937 comes first for us. Before that we want a peace treaty with all other countries. Then the people will decide in a referendum on the final course of the borders." [passage omitted]

Republicans Meet in Leipzig

AU2401145790 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19 Jan 90 p 5

[ADN report: "Supporters of 'Reps' Met At Leipzig Opera"]

[Text] Leipzig—Some 150 supporters of the "Republicans" gathered behind the Leipzig Opera last night [18 January]. "Reps" from Bavaria, together with the first supporters in the GDR, were canvassing for their objectives, that are, above all, guided by the unification of Germany. They were confronted by left-wing activists, who protested against this gathering, but they announced further meetings in this city.

FDGB Rejects Call for Dissolution

AU2401145590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "FDGB Must Prove Itself in a Completely New Way"]

[Text] East Berlin—Werner Peplowski, chairman of the committee preparing the extraordinary congress of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], rejected the dissolution of the GDR trade union in an article published in the trade union paper TRIBUENE. He pointed out that, in view of the planned introduction of elements of the market economy in the GDR, the trade unions will have to "prove themselves in a completely new way in order to protect the interests of the working people."

"Dissolving the FDGB would be tantamount to abandoning the achievements accomplished by the German trade union movement during over 100 years of struggle." Peplowski appealed to the trade unionists to resolutely work against "the establishment of works councils and trade unions in enterprises and institutions. Do not allow the splitting up of the representation of interests, which would clearly weaken the position of the trade unions."

As the official pointed out, the FDGB will struggle with all its might to ensure that the rights that have been stipulated in the Constitution and in the Labor Law will not be abolished in the course of planned amendments to the Constitution and by new laws.

NDPD Chairman's Speech at 21 Jan Congress

LD2201160390 East Berlin Television Service in German 1836 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] As of today, the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] has a new chairman. In a second ballot, Wolfgang Glaeser defeated the hitherto acting party chief, Hartmann. Wolfgang Glaeser, 49 years old and a sports and geography teacher, entered the NDPD in 1966 and has been full-time district secretary for 4 years.

[Begin Glaeser recording] Following many discussions that we had during this party congress, I firmly believe that we will come out homogeneously from this party congress, which will be continued. That delivers us from quarrels within the party and allows us to focus our potential on the election campaign, which we have never conducted in such a way, and in which we, of course, had to put up with drawbacks and criticism. However, we should shape the election campaign aggressively toward all sides, particularly toward the SED- PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism]. We should not be too scrupulous during the campaign. From tomorrow, there can only be one motto: Our party, the NDPD. Yes, indeed. The party congress is adjourned. We will meet again in March! [end recording]

In today's debate the discussion over factual matters was a short one. The delegates demanded that the interests of the middle classes be formulated more clearly in the election platform. Besides, the graduated plan on German unity by 1995, submitted to People's Chamber Deputy Walter Goedecke, should be reflected in the platform. A new statute was decided upon, strengthening the party basis. The hitherto existing party name was confirmed. The NDPD advocates substituting the State Council by a president and the introduction of land structures [laenderstrukturen].

There was remarkably little talk about culture, the arts and sciences, the protection and freedom of which the NDPD had written on its banners. But there were massive demands for an early German unity. They obviously influenced the debates over personnel, as these proceedings were hidden to journalists.

Behind the new chairman, who is widely unknown inside the party as yet, and who built up an image by his tight conduct of the congress, stand apparently those inside the NDPD who want to see the national element of the party's name in the center of the party's future profile.

NATIONAL-ZEITUNG To Be Renamed

LD2401134690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1032 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The NATIONAL-ZEITUNG, newspaper of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], will appear under the name BERLINER ALLGEMEINE from 1 February. It will have the subtitle "newspaper for politics, economy, science, culture, and sport." The newspaper announced this to its readers today saying that the reason for this will be given in the 1 February edition. It was decided at the NDPD congress last weekend to rename the newspaper because in the FRG, where it will also be on sale in the future, there are already publications with the word "national" in the title. [passage omitted]

USPD Founding Congress Set for 10 Feb

LD2201170790 East Berlin ADN international Service in German 1628 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A founding congress of the USPD, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany [Unabhaengige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands] will take place on 10 February in Fuerstenberg (Potsdam area). As noted in a press statement sent to ADN on Monday, the program and statutes of the party will be discussed. At the same time, the election of the provisional party executive will take place, which will conduct the affairs of the USPD up to the first ordinary party congress in March.

In line with its platform, the USPD is fighting on GDR territory for democratic socialism and feels most closely linked to the traditional left-wing social democratic legacy. It favours party pluralism and promotes multiplicity in social life without a claim to a monopoly on power. The USPD is an internationalist party and aims to join the Socialist International as a people's party.

Democratic Awakening Demands Modrow Resignation

LD2401133290 Hamburg DPA in German 1256 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The opposition party Democratic Awakening has demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Hans Modrow (SED-PDS) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Social Democracy], as well as all SED ministers, as a condition for possible participation in a GDR transitional government. The opposition groups met this morning to discuss among themselves the participation in government up to the 6 May elections that had been offered by Modrow.

A spokesman for Democratic Awakening told DPA in a break in the negotiations that the resignation of all SED members in the government is a maximum demand. It is also possible that the prime minister and the SED ministers could temporarily relinquish their mandate in the SED until the elections.

Members of other opposition groups do not wish to make a statement yet on the possibility of participating in the government. [passage omitted]

SPD Paper Published With FRG Support

AU2401150390 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "EXTRABLATT of the SPD With a Circulation of 1 Million"]

[Text] East Berlin—This weekend the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] will present to the public the most important results of its national delegates' conference, which was held between 12 and 14 January 1990. Olaf Spittel, head of the SPD's press office, told ADN that the total circulation of EXTRABLATT of 1 million was printed in Bielefeld with the support of the SPD in the FRG. Some 320,000 copies of the newspaper were intended to reach the areas of Magdeburg, Dresden, Halle, and Leipzig, as early as yesterday. EXTRABLATT will arrive In the other GDR areas either today or tomorrow.

Berghofer Confirmed as Dresden Mayor

LD2501104390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1013 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—The chief mayor of the city of Dresden, Wolfgang Berghofer, was confirmed in his office on Thursday. After the local politician had left the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism last Sunday, he asked for a vote of confidence from the city parliament. By means of a joint statement from the parliamentary groups in the city deputies assembly, he was commissioned to continue his work until the next local elections.

Stays Out of Parties

LD2501122490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1134 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—In the view of Dresden Chief Mayor Wolfgang Bergohfer, the calls for the state unity of Germany at every Dresden Monday demonstration prove that the German nation has remained preserved despite the development of two states.

In his statement to the city deputies assembly on Thursday, he noted there had been no formation of an independent GDR nationality. "It had, for sure, its own state citizenship law, but that cannot be compared with national identity." What belongs together would unavoidably grow together, linked with the objective economic processes. To see that differently is an illusion, he said.

There was no way past this development; the question concerns only in which period and in which manner. "Links to the homeland and regional identity are increasingly gaining in significance thereby in the framework of European unity. The common European home, in which the Germans live as peaceful, reliable cohabitants, is only possible if European thinking wins through.

Berghofer declared his resignation from the party last weekend, together with 39 Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism members. He remains chief mayor, however, until 6 May, following confirmation in office by Dresden's city deputies assembly. Wolfgang Berghofer said to journalists that he does not intend to join any other party before that date.

Former Politburo Member Axen Arrested

AU2401200790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Hermann Axen Arrested"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—Doctors are constantly examining former leading party and state officials who have been arrested to test their fitness to undergo detention and interrogation. This was announced at a news conference in Berlin on Thursday [18 January] by Heinrich Toeplitz, chairman of the Temporary People's Chamber Committee investigating abuse of office, corruption, and personal enrichment. On 17 January, the committee was briefed by the Interior Ministry doctors who are responsible for the treatment of prisoners. According to the Office of the General Prosecuting Attorney, Hermann Axen returned to the GDR after undergoing an operation. [passage omitted]

Former National Leaders Stripped of Awards

LD2401201990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1843 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and GDR state leadership were stripped of their orders by Professor Manfred Gerlach, acting chairman of the GDR State Council, today.

The following persons are affected: Hans Albrecht, Hermann Axen, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Gerald Goetting, Erich Honecker, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Gerhard Mueller, Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, Willi Stoph and Harry Tisch.

A press release states that the aforementioned have proved themselves unworthy of the awards.

VOLKSARMEE Publishes Cases of Corruption

AU2401132990 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "NVA: Private Trips Disguised as Official Trips"]

[Text] Strausberg—The committee for investigating cases of corruption, abuse of authority, and personal enrichment in the National People's Army (NVA), which is headed by Colonel Hans-Juergen Mader, has published the results of its work in the magazine VOLKSARMEE.

Apart from the known facts about hunting grounds and the huge financial expenditures, details were presented in connection with the continuous extension since 1966 of the Hintersee hunting grounds in the Ueckermuende District in Neubrandenburg Area. This involved even a helicopter landing ground. The budget for this area, which was handed over to the State Forestry Office, amounted to more than M39 million since 1966. The report further states:

"Private trips were disguised as official visits. Such trips were made, for example, to Korea. The costs amounted to M118,122, as well as 30,000 valuta mark. The Kessler family travelled to Cuba and Nicaragua at a cost of M282,216 and 136,065 valuta mark. H. Stechbarth flew to Austria and to Sweden (twice) at the cost of M62,278 and 8,500 valuta mark (Austria), M66,850/11,223 valuta mark and M57,264/8,384 valuta mark (Sweden), respectively."

Gerlach Not To Run for Political Office

LD2401134990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1005 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany], today announced his departure from the political scene in the GDR. At the end of a meeting with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, the acting chairman of the State Council said he will not be standing as a candidate in the coming elections.

Asked whether this meant he will "leave politics altogether," Gerlach said: "When one has performed decades of political work, one cannot just drop out of politics like that. I won't be holding any state or party post, but I'll support my friends with word and deed and continue to be interested in political developments."

The LDPD chairman gave an evasive answer when asked if he was thinking—as Egon Krenz now is—of writing a book: "No publisher has asked me to yet."

Suess Elected New Halle Council Chairman

LD2301205890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1545 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Halle (ADN)—Only 139 out of 244 deputies took part in the session of the Halle Area Diet on Tuesday. Dr. Wolfgang Suess (Socialist Unity of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism) [SED-PDS] was elected the new council chairman in a secret ballot. He replaces Alfred Kolodniak (SED-PDS) who was arrested on 9 January, and has been officiating since 11 January. The candidate proposed by the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany parliamentary group, Wolfgang Boehm, was not able to achieve a majority of votes. [passage omitted]

Unemployment Reaches 85,000 Nationwide

LD2301112290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1103 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—There are at present up to 85,000 unemployed people in the GDR. This was announced today by Werner Peplowski, chairman of the preparatory committee for the extraordinary trade union congress at the end of the month in Berlin. At the news conference he disputed that the calculation of 300,000 vacant positions justified talking about this problem any longer.

Demands were being made of the government to plan a special fund in the state budget for support of the unemployed. [passage omitted]

154 Associations Recognized by State

AU2401111590 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 Jan 90 p 1

[ADN "exclusive" interview with Gotthard Hubrich, head of the Main Administration for Internal Affairs in the Interior Ministry; date not given: "154 Associations Recognized by the State"]

[Text] [BERLINER ZEITUNG] How many associations are there currently in the GDR?

[Hubrich] At the moment there are 154 associations that are recognized by the state. In addition, there are 113 other associations that operate on the basis of legal regulations, for example in the health and cultural sectors.

[BERLINER ZEITUNG] What are the new associations of the past few weeks?

[Hubrich] We have confirmed eight registrations with the central authorities, such as New Forum, the Association for the Promotion and Observance of the CSCE Process, and two associations of homosexuals. Another 28 applications were passed on to the responsible state organs, such as special ministries or special organs of the council of areas or districts. The applicants include the Association of Economic Jurists, the Lawyers' Association, and the German Association of Glaziers.

[BERLINER ZEITUNG] What steps are necessary for recognition by the state?

[Hubrich] For the moment, the complicated regulation on the establishment and activities of associations of 1975 is still in force. According to it, an application must first be confirmed, and then the association can be established. However, the procedures currently differ quite considerably, which is not a problem. An association is recognized by the state if the statutes, a list of the names of its leaders, the number of members, and the protocol of the founding assembly are presented.

[BERLINER ZEITUNG] When will we finally get the new law of association?

[Hubrich] The draft has already been drawn up and will soon be discussed in the Council of Ministers. It is also to be submitted to the roundtable for discussion.

Jewish Leader Discusses Neo-Nazism

AU1601100690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 90 p 4

[Interview with Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Jewish Community in West Berlin, by Dieter Wolf and Werner Goldstein; date and place not given: "Danger of Neofascism in the GDR—Is This Not an Exaggeration?"]

[Excerpt] [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Mr. Galinski, you have expressed great concern about extreme right-wing and anti-Semitic incidents in the GDR. In a statement that was published by this paper on 4 January this year, you sounded more concerned about the problem of neo-fascism in the GDR than in the past.

[Galinski] Well, whenever I talked about neo-Nazism and anti-Semitism, I sounded very concerned. On 5 May 1988, for example, I had a meeting with Erich Honecker, my first meeting ever, and already at this point I expressed my deep concern over the situation in the GDR in this respect. Look, there has been neo-Nazism and anti-Semitism in the GDR for a long time, but this topic was suppressed and ignored in the past. I stated this publicly during my meeting with the former State Council chairman, contrary to many others who remained silent and only dare to speak up today.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] You are right. However, right-wing extremism is openly surfacing nowadays and trying to express itself in public.

[Galinski] We are facing the following situation today: Things that have been suppressed to this day and were not allowed to surface, including neo-Nazi demons, are coming to the surface in the course of the changes and reforms. Right-wing extremists think that the time has come for them to spread their ideology, their dangerous theses among the public. After the elimination of the Wall, there is cause for warnings and for really deep concern because cross-border links become possible. Neo-fascist and far-right radical groupings are becoming active in the FRG and other countries. For me there is no doubt that efforts are being made to establish and expand contacts between far-right radical groups in the GDR, the FRG, and other countries. Certain incidents that have occurred—banners were unfurled and slogans were chanted—worried me, and for this reason I decided to make the statement that you just mentioned. I would like to express my deep concern once more at this point.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Mr Galinski, your statements are in contradiction with those of certain persons and groups. They claim that neo-fascism in the GDR is immensely exaggerated...

[Galinski] The way somebody expresses himself and explains things is of coursed based on this person's viewpoint and intentions. There may be people who ignore or who play down the problem of neo-fascism. I have no intention of siding with anybody on this issue. I would like to make this very clear. I do not want to interfere in the quarrel that has erupted between parties and groups in the GDR. However, I regret that neo-Nazism has led to such controversies. I regret this all the more because this is an issue that should be jointly tackled by everybody in order to arrive at a consensus. It should not give rise to quarrels, as is currently the case. I say this with a view to the upcoming elections in the GDR, but also with a view to elections in the FRG. Elections to the Bundestag are to be held in the FRG this year. It would be terrible if the neo-Nazi issue were to become the central topic of the election campaigns in both German states. [passage omitted]

Leftist Group Hands Over Neo-Nazi Material

AU2001122990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Left Hands Over Neo-Nazi Propaganda Material"]

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—On Tuesday [16 January] members of the United Left (VL) handed over neo-Nazi propaganda material that they had seized during the Monday demonstration on the previous evening to the Leipzig criminal police. It consisted of leaflets, stickers, posters, and other pamphlets with chauvinist contents. Hostility toward foreigners and nationalism characterize the pamphlets of the "Republicans," the German People's Union, the National Democratic Party, and the "Group 146," which were handed to demonstrators in Leipzig by West German citizens, above all Bavarians, but also by GDR citizens. Together with antifascist guests from Lower Saxony who are in Leipzig to attend the "action week against the right" in Leipzig, members of the United Left and other leftist forces collected piles of the illegally imported material. However, part of it had also been delivered to households as direct mail.

Commentary Views Cuts in Subsidy Policy

AU2001162490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jan 90 p 2

[Joerg Staude commentary: "The First Step"]

[Excerpts] In the middle of December, the finance minister announced the first "cuts" in subsidies. Yesterday, hardly 1 month later, new prices for children's wear, hosiery, and flowers came into force. The proposed redistribution follows the principle: Stop subsidies for goods, start subsidies for persons. Thus, considering the many years in which decisions were put off, the Modrow Cabinet has proven its consistency. [passage omitted]

M2 billion, most of which have been redistributed since yesterday, is only a small portion of the "pot" of subsidies that comprises more than M50 billion and for which further measures cannot be put off.

However, the trade unions and other organizations are right to point out that subsidies and prices are basic questions of the citizens' standard of living. Social hardships and disadvantages must not arise. The working people's democratic cooperation and co-responsiblity cannot be renounced for this reason. From this point of view, this also applies to the public discussion on new concepts for finances, prices, and taxes proposed by the finance minister on Monday [15 January].

Luft Announces Breakup of Combines

LD1701143790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1349 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (ADN)—GDR Deputy Premier Christa Luft has announced an early breakup of the combines in the GDR. The autonomy of small and medium-sized enterprises should be quickly brought forward, the member of the GDR Council of Ministers responsible for economic matters told Joerg Mittelsten Scheid, deputy president of the Chamber of German Trade and Industry, in Bonn today. She named the focal points of future economic activities in the GDR as environmental protection, tourism, and energy-saving.

Afterward, Christa Luft spoke to GDR journalists of a decisive reduction in the economic difference between the two German states. This difference was caused not by the hard-working people of her country, but by the command economy that previously had prevailed. It is in the interest of the people in both German states and in that of their neighbors that the FRG government should decide in favor of initial aid for the GDR. This could help in particular to redevelop the infrastructure and communications system, which is of great significance for the competitiveness of the GDR. [passage omitted]

Principles of Constitution To Be Published

LD2401193590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1714 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The principles for a new GDR constitution are to be put to the public at the end of March. The "New Constitution" working group of the roundtable announced this in Berlin today. The representatives of the 16 participating parties, political groupings, and movements report that the prime concern is basic and human rigths. Other points of emphasis are economic and ownership questions, political objectives, and state organization, including local government.

The body, which has been meeting once a week since 7 October, also cooperates with the Constitution and Legal Committee of the People's Chamber, which is drafting changes and amendments to the current Constitution. The proposal for a new GDR constitution could, as the spokespersons of the working group stressed, only be a matter for a new People's Chamber. This fall is regarded as a realistic date.

Independent experts are involved in the roundtable consultations that, in the view of the participants, are proceeding in a businesslike and constructive manner, albeit not without arguments.

Planned European Bank Loans Said Too Low

AU2401142390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jan 90 p 2

[Claus Duemde editorial: "No Miracles From Euro Bank"]

[Text] The planned establishment of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Paris has triggered differing reactions. Some speak of a "highly symbolic act of joint solidarity," while others, such as the daily LIBERATION, simply speak of it as a "false start." Both views seem to be exaggerated. The participants from 34 states and two EC bodies have reached a basic agreement in the first stage of the debate on founding the new European Bank, and decided to create the conditions for it as quickly as possible.

However, the decisions on all major questions are still pending. For example, the decision on the amount of the capital and on the size of the different contributions. The proposals range between 5 and 15 billion ECU [EC Units]. It seems realistic that one will agree halfway, which would result in an amount of over DM20 billion. In the first year, 30 percent of it could be granted as loans. Considering the demand, this is a rather small sum. Thus one must not expect miracles from the Euro bank. Thinking of the misery in, for example, Romania, the GDR cannot expect to receive a lion's share anyway.

One has also virtually agreed that the bank is to promote the transition of countries in central and Eastern Europe to the market economy. However, it is not clear what this means. Some say that the United States wants to limit loans to private enterprises or to the privatization of state property. In France's view, during the transition period one ought to also promote projects of the infrastructure that are conducive to the market economy.

What remains is the question of the conditions for granting the loans. On Monday, President Mitterrand said that the bank will not force "any political decisions of any kind." At the news conference on Tuesday, this was practically denied. Then it was noted that the financial means can only go to countries with party pluralism and countries that have clearly opted for the market economy. Professor Polze, the head of the GDR delegation, also expects demands concerning the state budget and currency, which were repeatedly raised by the IMF. He told me that this does not necessarily have to lead to a lower standard of living, "but at the same time, I cannot exclude this."

National Security Office 'Objects' Handed Over

AU1001110290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "Former Security Office Handed Over 364 Objects"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—By the end of 1989, a total of 364 former objects of the dissolved National Security Office were handed over to other social sectors. These objects were mostly former district offices, the dissolution of which has been concluded all over the republic. They were primarily handed over to the health and social sector.

As of 2 January, a total of 23,632 employees were dismissed from the former National Security Office; 13,452 of them in the areas. We will provide more extensive information on these measures in one of our future editions.

National Assembly Sesssion Continues

Disputes Described

LD2501100390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Report by Attila Nemeth-Miklos]

[Text] It is true that this is the third day that the National Assembly has been in session, but a definitive decision has been passed on only one of the planned 24 agenda points. The voting has been successful on the provisional law granting permission for the use of special secret service methods. Yesterday the legal and defense committees conferred on whether the chief prosecutor or a parliamentary commissioner should be the one to decide on the use of secret methods, but the esteemed house did not agree with their stand in favor of the chief prosecutor. That is, the decision did not gain a two-thirds majority vote. Csaba Kereszti, speaker for the committees, argued that there would be no sense in appointing a National Assembly commissioner for the transition period. A final decision should be made in February, when the national defense law is discussed. Therefore, the parliamentary deputies did not accept the argument, but neither did they accept that the right to decide on secret means should end up in the hands of a parliamentary body.

Contributing to the complexity of the voting procedure, which interspersed with remarks, was the hesitancy of Deputy Speaker Lajos Horvath, who was on the chairman's platform. He wanted to force the chief prosecutor onto the National Assembly, but Karoly Eke, in his remarks, emphasized that Karoly Szijarto, who now fills this position, was affected by the phone-tapping scandal. In his view, Szijarto did not measure up to his task, so it would be a big mistake if parliament were to charge him with the possibility of deciding on the use of secret means.

The situation, which was now turning into a comedy, was interrupted by a new proposal from Premier Miklos Nemeth. On behalf of the government, he recommended that Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar exercise the decisionmaking jurisdiction. However, it was again necessary for the legal and the defense committees to discuss the new proposal. Thus, after the first 20 minutes of today's work, there was a recess; at the end of this, the two aforementioned committees failed to come to a decision. Therefore, the deputies were called into the assembly hall and began to debate the bills on protecting the property of state enterprises and on the state assets agency. This is what is now going on in the assembly hall.

Zoltan Gal on Security Issues

LD2401142190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0940 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Speech by Deputy Interior Minister Zoltan Gal to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Deputy Speaker, esteemed National Assembly. In the course of the past day and a half, a good many deputies have shaken hands with me, perhaps just a degree more warmly; from time to time I even got pats on the shoulder, which I took to be sympathetic. I ask the esteemed deputies that this sympathy persist even after my report.

As a matter of fact, I have to wrestle with two tasks now. On the one hand I have to give you a briefing about the so-called phone-tapping scandal, or, if you like, about the Hungarian Dunagate affair. And I have to win you over to the draft bill that deals with the transitional application of secret service tools and methods.

I have not carried out any concrete historical research, but I think I can safely claim that in the history of the Hungarian National Assembly no such agenda points have ever been discussed before. And I think we may also add that even in the parliaments of other countries in the world this can be described if not as extraordinary, at least as a fairly rare agenda point.

That these two topics—that is the Dunagate affair and this draft bill—should be discussed jointly by parliament, I think shows the increasingly robust impetus of Hungarian democracy and its coming of age, and I think it also reveals our infantile diseases. For I think it is indisputable that these things carry profound political weight, which reflect Hungary's present-day reality. I think that the premier and Istvan Horvath yesterday spoke convincingly about this. I commend to everybody's kind attention the ideas contained in these speeches, in the course of the entire judgment of the affair.

Esteemed National Assembly, first of all I would like to give a briefing on the so-called Dunagate affair. And no matter how much I would like to spare your time, there are a few things which I must submit in any case.

One of these is that nobody should expect from me some kind of sensational disclosures or admissions. I think that the National Assembly likewise should deal with this issue as appropriate, and what this means in my opinion is that first and foremost we have to examine how this whole affair, with its preliminaries and methods of solution, fits into the development of Hungarian constitutionality.

The other thing I would submit is that I refrain from dissecting the affair's history and developments since the mass media from 5 January onward has been dealing with it virtually continuously. The same approach was cautioned by the Council of Ministers session held on Sunday, where an intense debate was conducted on this issue. The public has likewise been able to acquaint itself with the outcome of this; it has also been able to acquaint itself with the organizational and personnel decisions made at the session.

I am cautioned to restraint also because, as is well known, the competent prosecution bodies are conducting an investigation into the affair. This has not yet been concluded, and for this reason I refrain from making any kind of observation which later may prove to be unfounded. Unfortunately, however, this situation does not restrain others from pronouncing judgments which cannot be appealed.

As a consequence of this, I base my briefing first and foremost on the report of the committee which the minister assigned to investigate the affair and on those examinations, naturally, which the Ministry's leadership has conducted in this matter. It is clear to me, naturally, that this weakens the strength of what I have to say. But the National Assembly will have the means to brief itself from other sources as well, since the chairman of the Council of Ministers yesterday stated that the government supports assigning the relevant National Assembly committee to be called upon to examine the affair's details and which will then inform you.

Having said this, no matter how much I would like to save time, I must submit one more observation: first, that in the past decades to speak about the existence of a state security organization in Hungary was not done in this country. And it was particularly unseemly to know that this organization—and the police as well—in the course of its work of criminal investigation employs tools, which the draft bill denotes as special and which, by their nature, entail the limits of certain civil rights.

Now for the first time there is an opportunity for citizens to be openly confronted with the fact that the defense of the sovereignty and constitutional order of the Hungarian society and state, as well as criminal investigation, cannot do without this kind of particular state activity and its particular system of methods.

And this (?twice) mentioned word "particular"—I would like to say this with emphasis—I think expresses the fact that in the situation's evaluation, circumstances, and chiefly in its details, we have to proceed with moderation. And in this connection I would recommend to everyone's attention the thought that one of the members of the Constitutional Court formulated roughly as follows: that the enemy of the secet service is not first and foremost publicity but a system of legal guarantees, a system of institutions, which controls this activity from outside. [Passage indistinct] service, the political tendency of its activity.

And here I must again begin with a certain historical retrospection. It is commonly known that the activity of the entire state security service—and within this of internal security—has been regulated by secret measures which in the nature of things were in harmony with the political and economic system, the ideological concept which characterized our country up to recent times.

Naturally, the enemy-image of the Armed Forces and corps, thus also of the police and state security, fit in with this. In accordance with this, the internal security service's task was to gather information about those groups and persons, and events connected with them, whose activity and world outlook were qualified by previous policies as undesirable and harmful to society. This in practice demanded that this organization mount screening, fact-finding, investigative activity which extended to a wide sphere, and could be called all-encompassing. When the transition to the multiparty system began, and when it developed, this situation naturally could not be maintained.

An alteration of the direction of the service's activity had already begun in the first phase of dismantling the party-state. I can say this with responsibility. Evidence of this is seen from conference briefings, the memoranda of meetings, the minutes of publicly held scientific conferences, and the concrete draft laws, commands, and regulations which were prepared in the meantime. Later, abolition of the internal security service was also formulated in connection with working out the new national security law.

This all means that the main direction of the service's activity, at the level of directives, adapted to the changed situation but to a major extent, stemming from the nature of the secret means and methods, and assertion of the new requirements followed the accelerated processes with only a certan lag. That is why it was possible that, when the direction of the services's activity changed and was limited to the protection of certain individuals, or when it was directed at following the recent proliferation of supporters of the political boom, or—and I have to mention this—when it was aimed at preventing stirrings in which there was a latent, forceful reorganization or rollback or in safeguarding mass demostrations carrying the risk of serious conflicts between the participants, then at a lower level of the service there remained a gathering of information which did not accord with these new directives. I have to admit that a reason for this was also that the "legal regulations"—by necessity I have to put these in quotes—specifying the service's activity did not change.

This in practice meant that the information on certain individuals—I emphasize individuals—contains a description of events, an outline of the organizations' activity in which these individuals moved. I imagine that the data will prove that in this regard the service operated in a neutral manner toward the organizations and that the information obtained in this manner remained in the lower circles of the service.

The next matter about which I must speak is that of the constitutionality of the utilization of service means and methods. Naturally, it will be the Constitutional Court which will have the final word in this matter; as is generally known, it is dealing with the affair. Yet I believe that it is necessary to say a few things about it at this level.

Just like those of the police, the state security's functions are defined by a decree adopted in 1974. This is a general provision at a very high level, as was accepted at the time—a so-called framework regulation—whose contents of necessity were filled by lower-level norms. This decree authorized the minister of interior to act accordingly.

Well, the regulations pertaining to the sphere of secret service means and methods and to their applicability, [words indistinct] which—I emphasize—was qualified as a state secret, and by instructions based on these from the deputy premier. I am mentioning a government resolution, but I fear that not every member of government at the time was familiar with the full content and text of the government resolution.

Therefore, these undeclared norms laid the foundations for the regulations pertaining to the use of secret service means and methods. Of necessity it follows from this that the detailed regulation was secret, and remained in the past 16 years as a self-evident government requirement.

The state security organs carried out their tasks according to internal norms, instructions, commands, and regulations on such regulatory bases. Allow me to note that the number of such internal norms is more than 70.

It is clear that this situation is not in accord with the current constitutional regulations. I am saying this not necessarily as an excuse, but it is generally known that this contradiction can be found in other spheres of our laws which are in force. The amendment of the Constitution sets a deadline of 30 April this year, by which time it is necessary to bring other laws into line with the Constitution. It is necessary to adopt the laws of constitutional force which are qualified by the Constitution as such, and belonging to this sphere are laws pertaining to the national security service and the police. I shall immediately add, on the basis of state work, that, as regards not necessarily this sphere but the entire legal system, it will not be an easy task to meet this deadline.

I believe that it follows from all this that the service's apparatus is not responsible, owing to this lack of clarity regarding the law, and this also means that stemming from the character of the secret service, the apparatus' members of necessity were able only to be familar with the parts pertaining directly to them, from internal commands and instructions. Therefore, they had grounds to believe that they were fulfilling their tasks in a manner that accorded with the legal requirements.

Istvan Horvath spoke yesterday about the process of creating the constitutional bases and the associated Interior Ministry tasks, as well as the ministry's responsibility regarding this. I announce to the esteemed National Assembly that, at its Sunday session, the Council of Ministers nullified the mentioned government norms. The same was done by the interior minister with the internal regulations and norms based on these. So at the moment, the Hungarian state security organization does not have norms on whose bases it could carry out its activity.

Finally, I would like to speak about shredding documents. Investigations have not yielded an unequivocal result in this regard. According to some opinions, the shredding took place in accordance with laws in force. According to others, there were certain procedural mistakes in the course of this shredding. I think that future investigations will unequivocally clarify this issue. What I would like to emphasize here is the question: In whose interest would it be if the secret service materials of the past year, of the past 40 years, were to be made public? I imagine that this is not necessarily the nation's interest from the viewpoint of a peaceful transition. That is why, at the Interior Ministry's recommendation, the government decreed that these documents should be placed in archives and that there they should be protected for the longest time possible, according to the laws in force.

Esteemed National Assembly, to sum up what I have said, the situation could be described as being in limbo. The previous party-state, and its all-encompassing state security intelligence system has become redundant and inoperable, but a modern strategy of national security, and the system of operation which would accord with this, have not yet fully taken shape. A major hindrance to the transformation's full implementation, to a creation of the legal bases, is the political stand that the adoption of the cardinal laws—including the constitutional law on state security—cannot constitute a task for parliament in its current composition. Owing to this, placing the state security service's activity on legal bases was delayed. That is why we consider it important that a modern national security law which accords with constitutional statehood be enacted as soon as possible.

Esteemed National Assembly, the further issues will obviously also be clarified in detail by the parliamentary investigative committee—insofar as you bring it into being. However, one thing I can state yet again is that this affair is another one of those which we can really understand only if we place it in its historical perspective, if we examine it in the light not of party interests and passions, but of real processes, the documentable intentions of the change. Otherwise it will remain a hotbed which could be further kindled, as a result of which the peaceful transition could go up in flames.

Esteemed National Assembly, after all this I would like to speak briefly about the draft bill's justification. In this connection I would stress that an essential issue in the judgement of the draft bill is the recognition that every society needs special state activity and services, along with their special tools. What is most important now is that in the interest of protecting the country's security, its constitutional order, it is necessary for us to create as quickly as possible the constitutional basis of the admissibility of special methods in a law of constitutional force, and moreover, together with the provision of the necessary guarantees.

I have mentioned that at the present time no norm for this exists, on the basis of which the state security service—and I do not mention the internal security service which does not belong in this sphere, because, as is well known, the interior minister has stopped this—exists but we must at all events create the legal basis for the entire state security activity, and we must establish the guarantees for employing the special methods. In the event of its being adopted, the draft will remain in force—its title also indicates that it is a provisional bill—until the above-mentioned comprehensive national security law, which has already been mentioned earlier, is enacted.

I report to the esteemed National Assembly that the draft of this law has in essence been completed. Within a few days the government will initiate consultaitons with the parties, and after this it will initiate its submission for the National Assembly's February session.

Now a few words about this brief draft bill. I think that in spite of its provisional nature it creates the necessary guarantees for the supervision of the service and the applicability of special methods. Thus I will only mention that, based precisely on the outcome of the debate which the Legal and the Defense Committees conducted yesterday—and let me observe that an extremely constructive debate was held in the two committees about the draft bill—it enriched the draft bill. What lies before you also contains this debate's results.

But to return to the guarantees. Among these I would mention that the draft—albeit in the form of an alternative—wishes to entrust the right of authorization, that is to say the right to authorize the secret service methods, to a person independent of the organization. Among the guarantees one can also mention the text of Paragraph 5 of the draft bill. And precisely as a result of the Legal Committee's recommendation, initiative, the bill circumscribes—insofar as this activity can be circumscribed—those task spheres in which secret service methods can in any case be applied.

As I have mentioned, the draft bill contains an alternative proposal in regard to the authorization of the use of secret service methods. Yesterday, in the Legal Committee, I argued that this sphere of competence should be exercised by the Supreme State Prosecutor, precisely in regard to the provisional nature of the bill. But if I may reveal a conversation that took place during the recess, then let me say that this conversation somewhat undermined my standpoint on this. Naturally, the government will take both alternatives seriously when they come up for submission.

The essential thing here is that this sphere of competence should be exercised by a trusted person [bizalmi szemely] independent of the organization, a person who is at the same time answerable also to the National Assembly. These criteria are met by the Supreme State Prosecutor's entire legal standing and function, and they are met also by the institution of National Assembly Commissioner.

Certain practical arguments, in particular with regard to the bill's provisional nature, argue for the Supreme State Prosecutor. If the National Assembly decides to appoint a National Assembly commissioner for this task, then we would respectfully ask it to elect a parliamentary commissioner already in this session, precisely on account of this unclarified situation and in order to avoid the state security service becoming paralyed.

In connection with the use of secret methods, one has to say a few words separately about requirements of the police's criminal investigative organs in this connection. There was a debate in the Legal Committee on this issue. Our standpoint is that in the situation which has evolved even the penal organs cannot renounce the use of special tools and methods in respect to criminal activity, in the interest of prevention and, I stress, of detection.

This has an international dimension as well since it is common knowledge that, because of the international scope of crime, the international cooperation of police in its detection is essential. And, also, fulfilling the commitments of this organizational cooperation, can also be considered as such, because in the last resort this issue will be settled by the state security law.

This provisional measure and changing the organization's affiliation, however, are necessary from the viewpoint that the reorganization should be implementable. In other words, the reorganization should happen in such a way that the service is removed from the Interior Ministry. It is well known that the Council of Ministers wishes to appoint a government commissioner for the structure and preparation of this reorganization.

Finally, let me perhaps note two issues, which are of smaller significance compared to the previous ones, but which nevertheless have substantive features. One of these concerns the service's name. In place of "State Security Service" the draft bill recommends the name "National Security Service" [Nemzetbiztonsagi Szolgalat]. What this means is that the secret service organizations henceforth serve not the protection of the state organization, but they consider as their primary task the security and the protection of the entire nation and the constitutional order.

And the other thing I would note relates to the legal status of state employees, or rather the national security service. It is well known that the members of the state security service today are part of the police, they are policemen. The draft bill proposes a different regulation for the future. However, it is necessary that within the organizations there be an appropriate system of hierarchy. For this reason the draft bill proposes to extend the force of the rule of law on the service undertaken in the international agreements which would be impaired if—and here I am thinking for instance of the detection of drug-related crimes and counterfeiting—the police were unable to employ certain special methods, with appropriate limitations.

Although it concentrates first and foremost on these special tools, the draft bill also contains forward-leaning measures from the viewpoint of the reorganization of the entire state security service, its future correct role and function, and also of the place it occupies in the state organization. And, moreover, it does this by modifying the above-mentioned 1974 decree, thereby removing the state security services from the interior minister's sphere of competence, and it proposes to attach them to the Council of Ministers, or to the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

This is in accord with the concepts which had already been settled earlier at the government level and which were confirmed back in the summer by the cabinet of the Council of Ministers and, later, during December, by the Council of Ministers itself. In other words, it accords with the requirements that this service be removed from the Interior Ministry's sphere of competence and that it be raised to governmental level.

I think that naturally there will still be debate about the question of the levels at which the state security service should be linked to the governmental organs. In relation to this a concrete proposal was made yesterday as well.

This draft bill, as its title also shows—and I would once again emphasize this—is of a provisional nature. Therefore, in this sense, this proposal relates the conditions of the Armed Forces' staff and the armed corps also to the official staff of the national security service.

I think that what has been said provides sufficient grounds that, with regard to the political context to which I referred at the beginning of my briefing, the National Assembly should contribute to this entire matter being put in its proper place in current Hungarian political life. Taking these into account, I respectfully recommend that my briefing be adopted and that the submitted bill be enacted. Thank you.

MTI Roundup of Session

LD2401225890 Budapest MTI in English 2140 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Budapest, January 24 (MTI)—The Hungarian National Assembly passed the constitutional bill on freedom of conscience and religion and on the churches with 304 votes for, one against, and 11 abstentions, in Budapest on Wednesday.

MPs also passed a parliamentary resolution with an overwhelming majority to review the agreements between the state and the churches.

MPs then started the debate on the bill concerning the provisional regulation on the use of special secret service methods. The bill was put forward by Zoltan Gal, secretary of state at the Interior Ministry, who briefed MPs on Danubegate.

As the prosecuting authorities are still investigating the case, the secretary of state declined to give further details on the latest developments. [passage omitted]

The debate over the bill was addressed by Dr Karoly Szijarto, chief public prosecutor, who detailed the results related to the bugging scandal to date.

Dr Szijarto said that the State Security service had gathered information not merely about the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) and their leaders, but also about the Hungarian Socialist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Janos Kadar Society and other political organizations.

Two opposition MPs, Gaspar Miklos Tamas (Alliance of Free Democrats) and Gabor Roszik (Hungarian Democratic Forum), addressed the debate over the bill. Both assured the government of their support. Several proposed amendments were also made. MPs were unable to agree on the issue of who should be entitled to allow the use of special secret means. (These are data collection with technical means, violating the secrecy of correspondence, and unauthorized entering of flats.)

The parliamentary committees in charge proposed two possibilities:

Under the first version, the chief public prosecutor would be authorized while in the second version a parliamentary commissioner would see to this task. Neither version received the 252 votes necessary, thus Lajos Horvath, who was chairing the session, ordered a break.

The committees in charge were unable to reach concensus even after debating for 45 minutes. They thus took the position that the decision be made on Thursday morning. Horvath then postponed the debate over the bill.

After the debate on the secret service bill was postponed, parliament discussed the bills on the protection of property entrusted to state-run companies, as well as on the National Steering Agency and the management and utilization of property under the agency's control.

Janos Martonyi, who presented the first document, said the bill was aimed at safeguarding state property jeopardized by spontaneous privatization and creating the minimal organizational conditions for a long-term privatization policy. This is required for the new legislation and government to successfully continue the radical transformation of property relations after the elections. Spontaneous privatization have such implications as selling property below price or accepting other disadvantageous conditions, lack of competition and the exclusion of publicity. On the other hand, this is the most frequent form linked with foreign capital investments, so the aim should not be the prevention of spontaneous privatization, but the setting up of a flexible control system to check the ensuing hazards.

Outlining the bill on the National Steering Agency, Deputy Finance Minister Istvan Tompe said that the principal objective of the agency was to have mismanaged state property go into the possession of real owners.

Several MPs expressed reservations in the debate, and the last contributor proposed the bills should now be discussed only in first reading. Parliament decided to discuss the motion on Thursday, and closed its today's session.

Nemeth To Run as Independent Candidate

AU2501102890 Budapest MTI in English 0712 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, 25 Jan (MTI)—Citizens in a constituency of his birthplace, Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen county, have put up Miklos Nemeth, president of the Council of Ministers, as an independent candidate for the parliamentary elections.

Well above the required number of 750, over a thousand recommendations were collected in one day in support to Mr Nemeth's candidacy.

Parties Agree on Ethical Code for Elections

LD2301233190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] An interparty agreement been reached on the ethical regulations for the March legislative elections. Twelve organizations, including the most influential Hungarian parties, state in the code that they will fully adhere to the laws and will refrain from criticizing the electoral law, from discrediting each other, and from disturbing the voters' privacy when obtaining nominations.

A related piece of news is that at today's session, the National Electoral Committee took the position that the legislative body should interpret the electoral law, thus avoiding the legal disputes that are expected to arise.

Media Coverage of Election Campaign Determined

LD2001035590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] The Television and Radio Supervisory Committee has adopted a position with regard to election campaign coverage. Committee Secretary Gyoergy Szilvasi said that they have taken into consideration the agreements reached during the interparty talks.

The committee has decided that from 24 January to 23 February, television and radio program time will be allocated and divided among the parties. The moratorium regarding the paid political advertisements valid until 23 January was also lifted.

Soviet Troop Unit To Be Moved From Torun

*LD2201213690 Warsaw PAP in English
2027 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Torun, Jan 22—Plenipotentiaries for Soviet troops stationing in Poland, General Viktor Dubynin on the Soviet side and General Mieczyslaw Debicki on the Polish one, met with the local authorities today to discuss withdrawal of the Soviet Army unit from Torun.

Discussed were questions pertaining to the need to allocate the grounds used by the Soviet Army for housing construction purposes.

The Soviet side promised to undertake actions with a view to moving the unit elsewhere.

Daily Claims Poland Shipping Arms to Ethiopia

*LD2301131190 Warsaw PAP in English
1242 GMT 23 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 23—Over the past two years Poland sold 8.3 million dollars worth of weapons to Ethiopia, the Solidarity daily GAZETA WYBORCZA reported today, saying that they had waited with breaking this news until the crewmen of the Polish Cargo ship Boleslaw Krzywousty kept captive by the Eritrean rebels since January 3 were released.

The paper disclosed that a plane full of weapons left for Ethiopia from Warsaw's Okecie Airport on January 12 when the negotiations with the Eritrean rebels on releasing Polish sailors were under way.

This shipment along with another two contracted for the same period will give Poland 2.5 million dollars, says the paper, quoting the Central Engineering Board, a body licenced to sell arms in Poland, as a source.

"Polish ships carry not only Polish weapons on the seas all over the world, sealed containers with unknown cargo are taken from ports in Western Europe," wrote the daily.

The GAZETA WYBORCZA also quoted a Foreign Ministry official as saying that sales of arms are good business for Poland which is disarming itself and gets rid of outdated weapons for good payment.

Details of Kidnapped Ship Crew's Release

*LD2501020590 Warsaw PAP in English
2204 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 24—Three days since the release of the crew of the MS "Boleslaw Krzywousty," representatives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the chief negotiator in the operation Jerzy Vonau, a director at the Polish Ministry of Transportation and Maritime Economy, met here today with newsmen to present details of the case.

Vonau said that the most dramatic moment was when the Sudanese press agency reported on January 17 that the Ethiopian Government intended to release the Polish crew by force. This happened at a time when negotiations with the Eritreans were headed in the right direction and such a move by Addis Ababa could not only stall the talks but even lead to the death of the ship's crew. A speedy report delivered to Warsaw and talks with the Ethiopian side in its wake turned out to be effective.

When on January 20 it seemed that the hour of the release of the Poles could be aired through radio, it turned out that the previous information supplied by a representative of the People's Front of the Liberation of Eritrea about the date and place of the Poles' release was not precise. Presumably, the leadership of this organization decided that holding the Poles hostage for a longer period of time should be used to promote the Eritrean cause on the international arena.

At this moment, the American Embassy in Khartoum joined the efforts to release the hostages very vigorously. The U.S. Federal Government made a decision on the matter. The American action and Vonau' efforts prevailed. Presenting Lech Walesa's statement calling for the possibly quickest release of the Poles, the Polish negotiator tried to convince the Eritreans that Polish newsmen were on board a special plane in Cairo ready to report on their intentions to the global community if the sailors were not released immediately.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Oman

*LD2401144290 Warsaw PAP in English
1245 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 24—The Republic of Poland and the Sultanate of Oman, guided by the wish to develop relations of friendship and cooperation between both countries, decided to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level as of January 24.

In tune with the provisions of the U.N. Charter, the relations between Poland and Oman will be based on peaceful coexistence, mutual respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs of each of them as well as on equality and mutual benefits.

Issuing this statement, the Republic of Poland and Sultanate of Oman cherish sincere hope that the diplomatic relations will contribute to strengthening the ties of friendship and cooperation in the interest of both countries.

Various Groups Protest Over PZPR Property

*LD1801235790 Warsaw PAP in English
2213 GMT 18 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 18—The occupation of the PUWP voivodship committee headquarters in the southern city of Katowice ended today. A special commission will take a decision concerning the future of the building occupied by members of the Independent Union of Students (NZS) and confederation for Independent Poland (KPN).

A similar decision ended a two-day occupation of the PUWP voivodship committee building in the western city of Poznan where members of the NZS, Fighting Solidarnosc and WIP (Freedom and Peace) demanded that the building should be handed over to the University.

In Wroclaw, students who occupied the voivodship board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) headquarters left the building when they were assured by the authorities that the Musical Academy would receive more rooms.

Last night, a KPN van was destroyed in Lublin. At the same time unknown perpetrators destroyed propaganda show-cases in front of the KPN building.

Today, a group of WIP members occupied for three hours the office of Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP) deputies and senators in Krakow to manifest their solidarity with those on hunger strike against the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec.

Party Rejects Property Threat

AU2401182390 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 90 p 1

[Commentary signed 'Agencja Unia-Press': "Confiscation"]

[Text] A group of deputies from the Citizen's Deputies Club has submitted a parliamentary bill that envisages the eventual confiscation of all property, including its press operation and its material base, belonging to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. The educational base of the party is also under threat of being forcibly suppressed.

The adoption of such legislation would be an act of revenge and an abuse of the opposition's recently gained power. The real implications of such a move go far beyond the merely material. This nationalizing legislation—Bolshevik-like in spirit and proposed course of action—would effectively bring to an end the period of democracy in Poland. Such steps would signify the use of state force to stifle the left and would herald the beginning of a period of revanchism and witch-hunts against literally all those people who have helped to create postwar Poland, namely, the Polish People's Republic.

Only a facade would remain of the democracy and pluralism. The adoption of this legislation would mean that the victors were now ready to begin settling old scores with the vanquished.

The draft legislation on nationalizing PZPR property, negates and rejects all that which the world identifies with the Polish model of political transformation. This is the only thing which holds Poland in high esteem in the eyes of such diverse people as Bush and Gorbachev, conservative leader Thatcher, and, on the other side of the spectrum, the social-democrats. The elaboration and submission of legislation that seeks to expropriate the party, illustrates the retrograde yearning to implement the Romanian sequence of events, that is to say, a brutal and bloody solution. The adoption of this law would mean the end of the principles that underlie all the recent agreements, cooperation, and evolutionary changes.

The mere fact that such a bill has been submitted to parliament is a double blow against the forces of reform in the party. First, it is no coincidence that this project has been made public days before the congress at which the PZPR is likely to be dissolved, an act that will pave the way for the creation of a new democratic party of the left, or possibly more than one. The idea behind this legislation is to strike at the social base of the left and leave it under no illusion that its people can expect no pardon, regardless of the ideas and policies that the left may represent. This is an example of the use of state authority to eliminate the whole movement of the left.

Second, the brutal act of nationalizing property is a political blow aimed at the reform wing of the party. It strengthens the political hand of the party hardliners and those conservative forces that were, and still are of the opinion that the party should never have entered into any dialogue with the opposition; that the 'roundtable' was a serious error; and that attempts at consensus with the opposition would only lead to the self-destruction of the forces and values of socialism. The use of state power against the left exposes to ridicule not only those people in the PZPR leadership who decided to steer a course toward democracy, consensus, and legal elections, it also makes a nonsense of the sociodemocratic currents in the party that were released from above. This bill will also serve the interests of all the antireform forces in the Soviet Union.

This draft legislation aims to confiscate property belonging to all those political forces which are disliked by this group of the Citizens' Deputies Club, and vividly highlights this group's shallow commitment to the values that it propounds and the values that secured it parliamentary seats in the elections. A respect for property? Of course, provided it means respect for my property, and not anyone else's. Democracy? Of course, provided it means a democracy where having amassed all the positions of power in the state, we can then proceed to do what we please. Pluralism? Naturally, provided it allows us to push every other competitor into a dark corner.

A Sejm that today shows itself capable of adopting legislation that confiscates the property of a party that has been selected for this treatment at will, can on another day pass legislation authorizing the confiscation of property belonging to others, for example, if they show themselves to be unruly. The following day it may adopt a law making groupin?s of the left illegal, and which provides for the imprisonment of their members. That is where this particular road leads. The extreme left knows the logical sequence of such moves from its own not too distant history. It only freed itself from such a situation with a great deal of difficulty and after a lot of time had elapsed. Because of all these considerations, the present moment is critical. Either Poland will see the development of a democracy that is based on respect for freedom, pluralism, and property—it is in the name of such principles that the PZPR delegation signed the 'roundtable' accords which effectively put an end to its undemocratic past—or we shall witness the emergence of a right-wing dictatorship that will take the place of the old red authoritarianism based on ideological dogma. It will simply mean that someone other than the PZPR will then regulate public and social life as they please. In reality, there will be no opposition, and any opposition there may be may once again find itself going underground.

The political motive behind this attempt to raid party property—an attempt that is cloaked in the majesty of the law—is so important that the material implications are of secondary consideration.

The PZPR agrees that its wealth was accumulated in conditions when the authority of the party and the state were one and indivisible. These conditions aided the party in its process of accumulating material goods. The party is slowly transferring part of its property for the general use of society, and it is ready to retransfer to the state the property that it received from the state in the past. This could be done by an examination of various title deeds by a joint party-state commission, and in cases of dispute through the courts.

This will require the acceptance of the fact that although the relations and conditions that existed in the past can be changed, it is not permissible to erase them retrospectively. For example, nobody today is in a position to trace the process of property accumulation in any long-established American industrial conglomerate in order to determine those parts that were acquired by methods that today would be totally unacceptable, namely, by plunder, fraud, or colonial exploitation. Various past methods of obtaining property need a moratorium, for nobody in their right mind would demand that "Solidarity"—today holding the reins of state power—should hand back all the aid it received in the past from abroad.

This attempt to totally destroy the material base necessary for the continued functioning of the left in Poland, and to confiscate its property merely for the reason that it belongs to the left—even though such property may have come from the subscriptions of party members—is nothing less than an attack on the democratic state, a state that has accepted the principle of the rule of law. This is the intention behind the draft legislation proposed by those deputies who only yesterday were instrumental in elaborating and adopting amendments to the Constitution—a Constitution proclaiming Poland a democratic state, where the rule of law prevails, respect for ownership, and political pluralism.

Krakow Party Building Occupied

LD2201212890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] A group of young people under the banners of the Fighting Youth Federation and the confederation for Independent Poland [KPN] has taken over the building of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Krakow Committee. The young people maintian that in the archives they found stencils for printing forged Solidarity leaflets. Demands have been made for those guilty of martial law to be tried and for the PZPR building to be handed over to the Musical Academy and newly created political parties. The prosecutor's office has described the act as unlawful.

Krakow Building Surrendered

LD2301000190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Late tonight, after a meeting between the young people occupying the Polish United Workers Party Krakow committee building and members of the Krakow citizens committee and Deputy Jan Rokita, Jozef Gajewicz announced on behalf of the leadership of the PZPR Krakow echelon that he is putting the committee building at the disposal of the mayor of the city of Krakow until the Sejm adopted solutions concerning the assets of the political parties, including the PZPR. Jozef Gajewicz also confirmed that the building of the Krakow PZPR Ideolgoical Training Center has been handed over to be used in accordance with decisions of the Krakow authorities. In the circumstances, the young people left the occupied building of the PZPR Krakow Committee.

Lomza Group Gives Up Building

LD2301190890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party voivodship committee in Lomza voluntarily handed over the building it had occupied hitherto to the city authorities. Apparently the committee showed vigilance; on this occasion it outpaced everyone.

Protests Held Over Buildings

LD2401002890 Warsaw PAP in English 2201 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 23—Other protest actions designed to take over PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] buildings started in Poland today.

A number of members of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) started to occupy a building of the PUWP town committee in Mielec, southern Poland. They demanded that the building should house an outpatients' clinic.

Several dozen members of the Independent Union of Students (NZS) organized a happening in front of the

PUWP Voivodship Committee building in Torun, north west Poland. Students demand the turning over of the building to the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun.

A group of youth from the KPN, the NZS, the WIP (Freedom and Peace) and the Intercity Anarchistic Organization held a rally in front of the PUWP Voivodship Committee building in Rzeszow, south eastern Poland. The young people demand that the building should be handed over to the disposal of the municipal authorities.

NZS activists from the Gdansk University organized a picket in front of the PUWP Voivodship Committee building in Gdansk.

Small groups of KPN and WIP activists organized a picket in front of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Szczecin.

Disputes Settled

LD2401223890 Warsaw PAP in English
2109 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 24—The dispute over the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] headquarters in the southern town of Mielec, occupied by the Confederation for Independent Poland since Tuesday, ended today.

Following talks between the two sides held in the presence of the town's vice president an agreement was signed on ending the occupation.

The Supreme Court took decision on the way to end dispute between the party authorities and local courts over the PUWP building in the northern city of Koszalin. The courts used the building right after the war.

The dispute is to be settled by the neutral voivodship court in the north-western city of Szczecin.

A press concerence was organized in the Polish Socialist Youth Union (ZSMP) headquarters here today. Newsmen were told about the circumstances of the occupation of the ZSMP building by the Independent Students Union members yesterday.

The ZSMP main board promised to deliver to Warsaw authorities by February 7 a survey of its rooms held here.

Commission To Define Party Assets Established

LD2401173990 Warsaw PAP in English
1557 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 24—Poland's Council of Ministers passed a resolution to set up a governmental commission to define legal status of political parties' and youth organizations' assets and to re-claim state property, the government's press office announced today.

The commission is to find out the legal status of assets presently in the possession of political parties and youth organizations and, basing on the findings, to work out proposals for regaining the state property.

OKP Deputies Discuss Party Property

LD2501020190 Warsaw PAP in English
2306 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 24—The debates of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club (OKP) were dominated by a heated discussion on the property of political parties.

Particularly a draft law on taking over the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] property by the state treasury, signed by almost 100 deputies (chiefly from the OKP), turned out to be controversial. OKP members divided themselves in the debate into proponents of a radical solution which would be nationalization of the PUWP property and into these who deemed that this complex problem should be solved by a longer but legal way.

The exchange of views, lasting several hours, caused most deputies, signatories to the draft law, to withdraw their signatures. However, a dozen of so signatures remained that are enough to submit this draft law to the Sejm.

Rakowski Discusses Congress, New Party

AU2501092290 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 22 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Zenon Kulej report: "Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski At Regional Meetings of Delegates—Where Are the Differences Between Us?"]

[Excerpts] Last week in Wroclaw, Poznan, Szczecin, and Gdansk, there were meetings of delegates to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] 11th Congress and the Founding Congress of a new party of the Polish left. Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, took part in all these gatherings. TRYBUNA LUDU presents a report on the meetings and the main discussion themes that came up at each of the meetings. [passage omitted]

In Wroclaw, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski stated the following: "We talk about platforms and declarations, but personally I do not see any major differences. Am I to understand that some of our people are for parliamentary democracy and others are not? Parliamentary democracy is what we all want. This does not mean that I wish to ignore the existence of different views. I believe that we have to create conditions of "peaceful coexistence" for representatives of various opinion currents in one party. This is not impossible. We have to treat the period after this congress and up to the first convention of the new party, as a trial period. We have to get used to one another. This has nothing to do with the so-called rule by diktat."

"What do we need programmatic declarations for, if not for winning political power? This is the goal of every political party. A left split into several parties, may find itself totally excluded from parliament. It only requires the introduction of an electoral provision specifying a minimum percentage requirement. The right is waiting for us to disintegrate, and they will pick us off one by one. No! I cannot permit this to happen!" [passage omitted]

In Szczecin Rakowski said: "I am optimistic as regards the preservation of party unity at the upcoming congress, although I there may be other scenarios. This or that grouping may decide to leave by one of the exit doors and create its own party. There are after all, many exit doors in the Warsaw's Congress Hall. There could be a dispute over the future shape of the new party, namely, whether it is to be socialist, or social-democratic. Alternatively, there could be a general pandemonium and then we would have to call a new congress, and we have no cash to do this. There could be sharp clashes between individuals. Any of these scenarios would be a great disaster for the party that is about to be born, including the one where we leave the congress empty-handed—in my mind, the worst possible outcome. The party we want to create must not have any desire to be the sole party of the left, but this does not mean that we should not strive to be the strongest." [passage omitted]

In Lodz, and in answer to a question, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski confirmed his intention to stand for a post in the leadership of the new party. At the following meetings he restated and elaborated on his decision, although he did not present it as being absolutely decided: "I confirm my previous decision, but I wish to reserve the final decision on the matter. Do you think that being a leader of the party today, and thus witnessing all the human tragedies that are happening outside the party is a pleasant task? The next person who stands at the head of the party is also in for a hard time, as well as criticism from his own rank and file."

"I am aware of the accusations saying that the old leadership must go. If we do this we shall never produce any new leaders. Nyers assumed the party leadership in Hungary despite his 70 years. He always stayed in the party. Why was he chosen? Because he was a respected personality. Wehner was in the Social Democratic Party leadership for over 25 years, whereas here in Poland even Miller and Wiatr are considered to have been in the leadership of the party for too long! I know that the ideal leader is someone who is 30 years old, has a wealth of educational, and journalistic experience; is someone who knows how to maneuver in the corridors of small and great politics; is known throughout the world and is on good terms with Gorbachev and all Western politicians; and is someone who knows several languages fluently, and so on. I would not hesitate to vote for such a person."

"Please do not cry over me. A politician who does not provoke mixed opinions is not worth much. I know what is being said about me, namely, old leadership. Old? For the last 5 months I have been first secretary of the Central Committee. I have only been in the Politburo for the last 2 years. For God knows how many years, I was ignored by the successive leadership of the party. Only Jaruzelski has had the courage to admit that I was right about many of the controversial issues of the 1970's, and that he was wrong. I respect him for this. As premier, I committed one mistake, namely, I began the introduction of the market economy. I should have left this to my successor." [passage omitted]

In Wroclaw, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski reemphasized: "Let us not be overawed by the dominant trend of today that is trying to minimize the Polish People's Republic's 45-year period of achievements. Without the Polish left, our border today would not run along the Odra and Nysa Rivers. Why should we disclaim and negate our socialist past. Who would respect us for doing so? The new party cannot permit this to happen, but, because the time is ripe, the new party must ensure that we finally put an end to the practice of raking-up our past. We must now fix our gaze firmly on the future."

PZPR Deputies Confirm Club's Political Stance

AU2301194090 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Stance of the PZPR Deputies Club Before the Upcoming PZPR 11th Congress and the Congress of the New Party"]

[Text] The last few gatherings of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], have seen the continuation of the political debate tied to the upcoming PZPR 11th Congress and the congress of the possible new party. On 19 January 1990, the PZPR Deputies Club adopted the following stance in these matters:

1. The Deputies Club reaffirms the relevance of the content in the Political-Programmatic Declaration and the PZPR Deputies Club's Open Letter, both of which were adopted on 30 October 1989.

2. We are in favor of the PZPR 11th Congress' carrying out an honest political appraisal of the activity of the PZPR and the factors which precipitated past crises—starting from the amalgamation of the Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party—before it adopts the resolution winding up the activity of the PZPR.

3. We acknowledge the right of congress delegates to have the final say in the matter of the party's future, and we support the creation of a totally new party at the congress—a party of the socialist left, embracing various opinions, and whose programmatic concepts will reflect the will and the aspirations of the progressive forces of the Polish nation.

4. We believe it is of great political importance to preserve the organizational unity of this parliamentary club and to maintain a consistent line in its activity until the current parliamentary term expires.

Warsaw, 19 January 1990

OPZZ Party Congress Delegates Issue Statement

AU2501102190 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 90 p 3

["Statement" issued by National Trade Union Confederation delegates to the 11th Polish United Workers Party Congress in Warsaw on 20 January]

[Text] We, delegates to the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress, assembled at the headquarters of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] on 20 January 1990, declare that the working people's standard of living is being threatened. Clear attempts are being made to replace the current system with an authoritarian system that is primarily based on the forces of the right.

That is why we believe that Poland needs a strong, well-organized left. It must base itself on an alliance of all the forces whose goal is the defense of the interests of working people and of all people who are employees. This is not the time to engage in arguments over doctrine. What is needed at the present time is a left-wing program and left-wing actions that are firmly rooted in the Polish tradition and in the realities of the present, and which articulate the aspirations, interests, and fears of the world of labor.

Our socioeconomic program is simple. We are for:

—changes in ownership that will give a greater say to the world of labor and protect our common assets from being plundered by our own parvenus and foreign predators seeking easy profits;

—distributing the costs of emerging from the crisis in a way that will not ruin the world of labor, but will primarily affect those who have made fortunes by exploiting the economic chaos. The distribution of the costs entailed by the crisis should be the subject of a social contract between representatives of employers (including the state) and employees;

—a social policy that will prevent the wholesale destruction of health care, education, culture, recreation, and housing.

We are resolutely opposed to structural unemployment as it is a form of blackmail that is meant to exact submissiveness from the world of labor, and especially as no action is being taken to boost production and supply.

We are in favor of democracy and a market economy, but democracy without the exercise of patronage by the right and a market economy that also gives chances to those who have not amassed fortunes.

In order to realize these goals and in view of the danger to party unity, we are creating a congress consensus for the good of working people.

We call on 11th congress delegates who support our aspirations to give us their backing.

Coal Mining Strike Situation Updated

LD1801052190 Warsaw PAP in English 2255 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Katowice, Jan 17—The crew of the "Kazimierz-Juliusz" mine resumed normal work today following yesterday's strike while miners from the "Czerwone Zaglebie" and "Niwka Modrzejow" coalmines in Sosnowiec (southern Poland) continued their protest.

The major pay claim of the strikers, that is paying additional 250,000 Zloties to each miner for December, cannot be met as the mine has not got money for that, director of the "Czerwone Zaglebie" mine Alfred Malczyk.

Chairman of the Federation of Miners Trade Unions Rajmund Moric met with the strikers in the "Czerwone Zagledbie" coalmine today.

Late in the evening today the strike committee in the "Czerwone Zaglebie" mine was turned into the interenterprise strike committee composed also of representatives of the "Niwka Modrzejow" and "Jaworzno" coalmines and of the mining works enterprise in Sosnowiec.

The interenterprise strike committee is linked to no trade union organization, Committee Vice-chairman Gzegorz Urbanski said.

The committee demanded that representatives of the industry ministry should arrilve at the coalmine without delay tdo undertake negotions.

Earlier the ministry received the strikers' postulates which concern, among other things, pay for the period of strike, regulation of miners remunerations for five-day work in tune with the Jastrzebie accords and the round table settlements.

Passive protest actions without stopping work and consisting in hoisting flags and propaganda actions spread in some coalmines which wait for settling the conflict by January 20.

The miners' pay claims, although fustified, are not conducive, or may even by menacing, to the initiated reform of the mining industry which, like the whole economy, is in a very difficult economic situation, chairman of the Solidarity National Mining Commission Andrezej Lipko told PAP after attempting to talk and negotiate with the strikers.

Also today strikes over a drop in miners' real wages continued in three of the Walbrzych coalmines (southern Poland), namely in "Walbrzych", "Thorez" and "Victoria".

The strike is headed by the interenterrprise strike committee dominated by the Fighting Solidarity activists.

Walbrzych Miners Strike

LD1801130890 Warsaw PAP in English 1205 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Walbrzych, Jan 18—The strike is under way in the three Walbrzych mines: Thorez, Walbrzych and Victoria.

As for the Thorez mine that started the protest action, the striking committee sharpened the discipline as many miners had been quitting the mine since Wednesday. To prevent this, the miners have been practically barred from entering or leaving the mine and resuming coal mining.

Five Mines Continue Strike

LD1801223890 Warsaw PAP in English 2141 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Katowice, Jan 18—Miners of the "Czerwone Zaglebie" and "Niwka modrzejow" mines in Sosnowiec near here continued their strike today. The protesters are waiting for the arrival of the minister of industry or his competent plenipotentiary to start talks. Spokesman for the inter-factory strike committee stressed that the action was not inspired and organised by any of trade union organisations.

In some of the mines and mining-related factories passive protest actions were continued without work stoppages.

The situation in the Walbrzych-based mines "Thorez", "Walbrzych" and "Victoria" did not change today.

The crews of these mines still refused to do extraction work, while maintenance temas were on duty. The strikers wait for the return of their representatives from Warsaw where they are holding talks at the Ministry of Industry.

Appeal Made to Miners

LD1801225990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Talks are being held in Warsaw under the chairmanship of Jan Macieja, the Ministry of Industry's plenipotentiary who directs the commission dealing with the reform of mining, on current problems in that economic sector. The participants are representatives of the Solidarity National Mining commission, the Federation of Mining Trade Unions, the Trade Union of Engineering and Technological Supervision, as well as representatives of the Walbrzych Solidarity Mining Commission. [passage omitted]

An appeal to miners' workcrews was made by representatives of 19 work enterprises and the regional Solidarity committee in Wlodzislaw Slaski. It is stated in that appeal, among other things, that we should all bear the burden of getting out of the crisis in solidarity. [passage omitted]

Miners Agree To End Strikes

LD1901220190 Warsaw PAP in English 1525 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Walbrzych, Jan 19—Early this morning miners of the "Thorez" colliery, which started the strike on January 16, as well as of "Walbrzych" and "Victoria" mines got acquainted with the agreements worked out in Warsaw by a delegation of miners and representatives of the Ministry of Industry.

The concluded agreement defines, among other things, the way of meeting of miners' pay claims and reaffirms their privileges.

The striking miners found the agreements satisfying enough to stop the strike. The mines have been put on stream and some 10,000 miners will gradually resume work.

Several Mines End Strikes

LD2001011890 Warsaw PAP in English 2253 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Katowice, Jan 19—An agreement between the Strike Committee and the management was signed at the "Niwka Modrzejow" coal mine today ending Miners' strike. Strike actions also ended in three Walbrzych Voivodship mines, "Thorez", "Walbrzych" and "Victoria" as well as in "Czerwone Zaglebib" mine in Sosnowiec.

Wage issues were also raised today in the "Kazimierz-Juliusz", "General Zawadzki" and "Janina" coal mines.

The Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, currently in collective dispute with the government, received today afternoon information from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy that government representative have been assigned for talks with the federation.

300 Protest NSF Decision To Run in Elections

AU2401162890 Paris AFP in English 1601 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 24 (AFP)—About 300 people demonstrated here Wednesday against a decision by the ruling National Salvation Front [NSF] to stand in legislative elections scheduled for May 20.

The demonstrators, who included supporters of Romania's two leading independent parties, the Liberal Party and the Peasants' Party, gathered outside the headquarters of the NSF Council in central Bucharest and shouted slogans hostile to its president, Ion Iliescu.

Some of them carried banners reading: "Doina Cornea for president".

Mrs. Cornea, one of the country's best-known dissidents under the former regime of Nicolae Ceausescu, resigned from the Council Tuesday in protest of the Front's decision to put up its own candidates in the elections.

The demonstration was called without the required 48 hours notice to the authorities. Police restricted access to the square where the demonstration was held. No violence were reported.

The Liberal Party and the Peasants' Party have called a demonstration for next Sunday to protest the Council's "monopoly on politics" and its choice of May 20 for the poll, which they say will leave them too little time to campaign.

Opposition Wants NSF To Relinquish Power

AU2401205990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2030 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Declaration"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—The leaders of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [NPP], of the National Liberal Party [NLP] and of the Romanian Social Democratic Party [SDPR], analyzing the NSF [National Salvation Front] resolutions of 23 January 1990 find:

1. Following the national insurrection of December 1990, the NSF took the helm of the country and pledged to solve current problems and to prepare the return to democracy, in a system with several parties, through free elections.

2. In flagrant contradiction with the categoric affirmation repeatedly made and reinforcing its pledge to control the administration over the interval between the national insurrection and the free elections, the leadership of the Front, without consulting the exponents of the public opinion, decided on their own to participate in the elections.

3. Through this decision, the NSF has lost its neutrality and its capacity of provisional administrator of power and its credibility before the public.

There can be no free elections and equitable conditions for all political formations when the NSF has the monopoly in a clearly totalitarian way on all state levels. The Front avails in a discretionary fashion of economic funds and means, of the television, radio and newspapers; the people are misinformed and disinformed. Likewise, the NSF has already started to exert pressure on and interfere with the electorate through government measure, through its local councils in ministries, enterprises, institutions—set up by the Front undemocratically, using the former leaders of the communist dictatorship abhorred by the people.

4. The NSF is not entitled to hold the political power in the country under the pretense that some of its members were latter-day dissidents, because they were kept in a marginal condition by the former dictator's whims. In fact, their suffering means nothing compared to the long years of imprisonment and barbarian persecutions endured by members of our parties and by the whole people. Moreover, some of them contributed personally to the sentencing and persecution of the best sons of the Romanian people, to the establishment and maintenance of the dictatorship for half a century.

5. In this newly created situation, the NSF places itself in utter contradiction with the minimal program it announced in the beginning for which it got the support of public opinion and of prestigious personalities with no political allegiance, which gave it only moral support and the only provisional political platform of legitimacy.

The anti-communist insurrection that through peerless sacrifices led to the victory over tyranny, is unquestionably to the credit of the heroism of the young generation of pupils, students and workers who sacrificed their life for freedom and democracy.

This superb victory belongs to the whole people and it cannot be confiscated by anyone. Nobody can appropriate it in order to claim legitimacy or monopolize political power eluding the people's control.

6. The NSF claim to participate in the elections endangers the future of democracy in Romania.

Consequently, the NPP, the NLP, and the SDPR request:

a) The NSF and the government it emanated should immediately withdraw from state and administration leadership;

b) A provisional government should be established in the place of the Front and of the current government, that should be invested also with legislative power and warrant Romania's leadership until the future elections;

c) The provisional government should be made up of:

—representatives of the active political parties;

—prestigious personalities who asserted themselves in the struggle against communist dictatorship for 45 years;

—youth representatives.

On behalf of the leadership of the Christian and democratic National-Peasant Party, Corneliu Coposu;

On behalf of the National Liberal Party, Ioana Gh. I. C. Bratianu;

On behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Romania, Sergiu Cunescu.

Opposition Asks NSF To Clarify Positions

AU2401212990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2100 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpt] The Romanian Press Agency ROMPRES received the following statement from the National Democratic Party in connection with the participation of the National Salvation Front [NSF] in elections on 20 May 1990:

Given the fact that the NSF exerts de facto political and executive power in Romania, its participation in the elections is justifiable, because the newly created political formations do not have their own apparatus capable of taking over these prerogatives. In these conditions, the National Democratic Party will contest the elections on the basis of its published program-platform, considering itself an alternative political force, not an opposition political force as disseminated by the information media, because the status of opposition party can only be the outcome of parliamentary elections.

Out of consideration of electoral ethics, we ask the NSF to clarify, as soon as possible, its position regarding the main aspects of Romania's future socioeconomic development.

Signed by the Provisional Management Council of the National Democratic Party. [passage ommitted]

NSF Roundtable With Political Parties 27 Jan

AU2501121290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] The National Salvation Front [NSF] Council announces: the legally established political parties have been contacted by telephone to be told that on Saturday, 27 January, at 1200, a meeting will take place at the Council headquarters in order to begin public discussions on the draft of the electoral law.

Because some of the parties do not yet have a telephone and others have only been set up and registered recently, and, therefore, the NSF Council does not know their telephone numbers, these parties are called upon in this manner [radio broadcast] to participate in roundtable talks on 27 January.

Foreign Ministry on Ceausescu's Secret Accords

AU2401184790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Statement issued by the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs took note of the fact that the dictatorial regime, removed by the revolution, secretly concluded accords, conventions, and other international agreements, which are not in the accounts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These agreements violated the rules of international law and regulations, or ran counter to obligations assumed by the Romanian state through various international accords.

In view of the decision adopted by the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council to observe commitments assumed in accordance with acceptable rules, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs declares that it refutes the understandings concluded by the previous regime that run counter to the international law. Consequently, contacts will be established with the relevant bodies in the respective countries in order to agree on ways and means to resolve problems pertaining to the cancellation of the aforementioned understandings and ending their implementation.

'Awake Romanian' To Become National Anthem

AU2401190590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] By a decree-law adopted by the National Salvation Front Council, it has been decided that "Awake Romanian," written by Andrei Muresanu and composed by Anton Pana, shall become Romania's new national anthem.

NSF Issues Decree-Law on Public Meetings

AU2401184990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] We now present a decree-law of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council on some measures concerning public meetings.

The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1. In order to guarantee the normal development of socioeconomic activities and to ensure public order and calm, public meetings can only be organized under conditions stipulated by Decree-Law No 2 of 3 January 1990, and by observing measures stipulated by the present decree-law.

As a rule, public meetings can be organized on nonworking days or outside the working schedule.

Article 2. In Bucharest Municipality, public meetings will, as a rule, be organized in Liberty Park, the Youth Park, the Romanian Opera Park, and Titan Park. At the request of the organizers, Bucharest City Hall may also establish other places for such public gatherings, provided that the provisions of the present decree-law are observed. County Halls will have the final say in fixing the place in which to hold a public meeting, which will be made known to the citizens through all kinds of publicity. In fixing the places for such meetings, one will strive to avoid any disturbance to economic, supply, and transportation activities, to road safety, and to the normal functioning of public, educational, cultural, and health institutions. Public meetings cannot take place near railway stations, airports, hospitals, military establishments, and economic units with installations, equipment, and machinery that is potentially highly dangerous.

3. The places where public gatherings may take place will, as far as possible, be equipped with amplifiers and other technical means required for the proper convening of such meetings; all this equipment will be made available to the organizers.

Article 4. Public meetings can also be organized at the headquarters of political parties and other public organizations, set up in accordance with the law.

Article 5. The groups of participants in public meetings will proceed to the places set for the meetings only along routes that have been jointly established by local state administration bodies and the police.

Article 6. For the duration of the procession to and the convening of such public meetings, the police will take steps to ensure the protection of citizens and material assets.

Article 7. Local state administration bodies and the police will take steps to forbid the sale of alcoholic beverages at public meetings and nearby, for their entire duration.

Article 8. In accordance with Decree-Law No 2/1990, the organization of any public meeting without registering it with the police at least 48 hours in advance is an infringement punishable by 15-30 days in prison or a fine of 500-2,000 lei. The same punishment will be applied when public meetings are organized on other dates and at other places than those provided for.

Article 9. The violation of Article No 5 of the present Decree-Law by those who initiate, organize, and lead public meetings represents an infringement punishable by a fine of 300-1,500 lei. Violation of the provisions stipulated by Article No 7 is also an infringement punishable by a fine of 200-1,000 lei. The police organs and the officials authorized by city hall are responsible for ascertaining whether an infringement has been committed and for fining those who are guilty. One can appeal against an official report on an infringement through the relevant law court under whose jurisdiction the infringement was committed, within 15 days of notification.

Article 10. Material damage, outrageous behavior, bodily harm, theft, and any other violations committed during the organization and holding of public meetings will be sanctioned in accordance with the Penal Law. Likewise, for misdeeds other than those dealt with under the Penal Law, the guilty parties will be called to account along contraventional, disciplinary, civic, or material lines, as the case may be.

New Appointments Announced; Dediu Leaves Office

AU2401195790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1838 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Other Appointments"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—Under decisions signed by Mr Petre Roman, Romanian prime minister, Andrei Pintilie was appointed deputy minister of the machine building industry; Nicolae Nicolaescu, Leon Dogaru and Andrei Ene—deputy oil ministers; Nicolae Chelu, Gheorghe Glaman, Ioan Tipu, Neculai Mantz and Costica Leu—deputy ministers of agriculture and food industry, Ion Moldovan and Vasile Bacila—secretaries of state, the Department of State Agriculture and Ioana Dragan, Stefan Tarabuta and Aurel Antoniu—secretaries of state, the Department of the Goods Industry. Aurel Ghibutiu was appointed chairman of Romania's Chamber of Commerce and Industry, i.e. a deputy minister.

Likewise, under Prime Minister Petre Romans' decision, Dumitru Horia C. Dediu, was released from the office of deputy minister of transport.

Government Session Discusses Economic Issues

AU2301165490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1646 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Romania's Government met this afternoon in a working session. On this occasion, Prime Minister Petre Roman asked the government members to present reports on the main problems currently facing the Romanian economy, with a view to finding ways and means for their efficient resolution. The participants in the meeting are dealing with matters pertaining to the productive activity in basic economic sectors, the use of manpower, the resumption of certain investment projects, some strictly necessary imports, and direct and mutually advantageous cooperation ventures with other countries. The meeting's proceedings continue.

'Working Relationship' With World Banks Sought

AU1101191690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1805 GMT 11 Jan 90

["Concerns to link Romania to the World Banking System"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/1/1990 —Steps are being taken by the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank to restore a normal working relationship with all the banks it has been working with—and their number exceeds two thousand—to get back into the international banking community said Vasile Voloseniuc, the new president of this institution, in an interview with newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA.

He said that a number of instructions had already been cancelled since they prevented this important banking institution from working on an economic basis with the foreign trade enterprises at home and with foreign partners. Furthermore, efforts are made to revive the network of joint banks set up in the early seventies and based in major international financial centres. In his opinion, these banks are Romania's most profitable investment abroad, but the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank was unable, in the old conditions, to properly use its branches there.

Summing up his view of the bank's future activity, Vasile Voloseniuc said: we try to change our style of work, to really be a commercial bank which supplies the whole range of financial services to our customers, individuals included.

Health Minister on Medical Aid

AU2201181590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1624 GMT 22 Jan 90

["Health: A Therapy of Organization"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—According to Mr Dan Enachescu, Romanian minister of health, the priorities of public health are medical assistance for the wounded in hospitals, movement of patients in serious condition to clinics abroad for surgery that cannot be performed in Romania, a balanced distribution of the medicines and medical instrumentation received as humanitarian aid from abroad throughout the country. At the same time, he said, physicians are trying to control the expansion of hepatitis and are also confronted with numerous new diseases that broke out as the human body's resistance declined because of malnutrition.

The health minister also said that the government had supplied funds for imports of medicines, active substances, and ingredients needed to resume the production of a number of preparations in this country.

Referring to the status of the medical staff, Mr Enachescu said contests would be held for general-medicine and specialized-medicine positions, contests that had been abusively blocked in the past.

He pleaded for the rebirth of a valuable tradition in Romanian medicine—the private physician. The free-of-change medical act, with medical assistance subsidized by the state, is the most adequate solution in the case of Romania, he said, adding that the network of polyclinics with paid medical services will be expanded and the system whereby patients send for a private doctor to see them at home, at a certain fee, will be introduced.

Long-Range Study on Medical Staffing Released

AU2401131090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1203 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Long-Range Study Regarding the Medical Staff"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—The Computation and Statistics Center worked out a study based on modern forecasting methods and on the opinion of a large number of experts, which suggests a density of 24.8 physicians in 10,000 inhabitants in Romania; therefore 60,000 physicians in the year 2000 as to 41,616 on 1 January 1989, which would require a schooling plan of nearly 2,000 students for the first year of the medicine and pharmacy faculties. There is a total of 3.7 dentists in 10,000 inhabitants—that is 9,000 in the year 2000 from 7,216 on 1 January 1989, 7,330 pharmacists in the year 2000 from 6,476, and a nursing staff of 170,000 as to 135,189.

As for the hospital beds requirements the study suggests that 57,000 beds be added to the present number to reach an index of 10.3 beds in 1,000 inhabitants.

Dr. Traiana Ionescu, director of the Center, notices that in 1950 Romania was among the countries with the best density of medical staff (in 10,000 inhabitants), while lately it ranks last in European states in this respect, its dynamics getting unfortunately ever worse. Likewise, the consumption of medicines stands at about 0.7 percent in the national income, the least of all the other European countries.

Higher Education Students Demands Explained

AU2301182890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1559 GMT 23 Jan 90

["What Do the Students Want?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/1/1990—Alongside the youths in other social categories, the strike force of the December revolution, coming first with socio-political and then with economic claims, the Romanian students continue to manifest as a remarkable force aware of its rights as well as of its responsibilities before society.

The Students' League of Romania, under formation, already with a membership of some thousands, organized a meeting on 21 January. In essence, they claimed university autonomy, democratic election of leading bodies, removal of incompetents and the corrupt, quick reinstatement of moral and professional rights, and courses without ideology.

The participants in the meeting approved of the government's project, meanwhile its decision, to dissolve the Academy of Sociopolitical Studies "Stefan Gheorghiu" but vehemently rejected the recognition of its graduates' diplomas considering it a "slap in the face of students, intellectuals and of all decent people."

"First of all, the country expects us to show competence, hence we should go back to schools and faculties and learn as we never could," one of the speakers said, while others demanded "the freezing" of this academic year.

Tumultuous debates are held on the new university senates which should include only the professors who were given over 51 percent of the students' vote of confidence.

The government is categorically in favour of the autonomy of the higher learning institutes. As a first step, the education's budget for this year doubled.

As Prime Minister Roman stated, the question of eliminating the incompetent professors from faculties should not be solved by "freezing" the academic year but by students' attending none of their lectures which will eventually make them exclude themselves.

ROMPRES on New Progressive Party

AU2401195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1855 GMT 24 Jan 90

["The Political Parties Introduce Themselves—The Progressive Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—The Progressive Party—recently created in Baia Mare town, Maramures County—is a moderate, centre party, whose aims are to promote genuine, uncompromised human values and help the recovery of the country.

The draft program stipulates inter alia that the Progressive Party does not admit activists and members of the bureaus and committees of the former Communist Party, former security people and civil collaborators of security to its membership.

National Liberal Party Presents Platform

AU2401195190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1913 GMT 24 Jan 90

["The Political Parties Introduce Themselves—The National Liberal Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—Reorganized early in January, the National Liberal Party [NLP] is one of the Romanian political parties of long-standing tradition works for the solid establishment of true democracy in this country, for the creation of institutions to guarantee it. Its secretary-general, Mr Radu Campeanu says that the party's concern is that the current power structures should not depart from the aims of the revolution of December 1989. He believes that a tough communist regime should not be replaced by a "milder" one. "The Romanians are a people longing for liberty willing to develop the industrial initiative and the creative forces in all fields—economic, social cultural—to win the place they deserves in tomorrow's Europe."

The party's provisional program includes as major economic targets the establishment of private property and gradual privatization of the economic units, based on profitability. According to the NLP, the privatization of the industrial aggregate can be achieved in three ways: productive units bought by some investors, enterprises bought by the employees and limited societies. In case of competition between investors, on equal offer, the employees of the respective unit will be given priority and they will also make the major decisions.

Prominent Exile Ratiu Arrives in Bucharest

AU2401190390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Mr Ion Ratiu, president of the World Union of Free Romanians, arrived in Romania. At Otopeni Airport the guest was met by Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasants Party (Christian-Democratic), and other members of that party.

National Peasant Party Spokesman on Dumas Visit

PM2401123490 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 15 Jan 90 p 16

[Interview with Alexandru Herlea, National Peasant Party spokesman and representative in France, by Christophe Urbanowicz—date and place not given]

[Text] [LE QUOTIDIEN] What is your feeling after French Foreign Minister Mr Dumas' visit to Romania last week?

[Herlea] The visit was a good thing for Romania because the country now needs material aid and moral support more than anything. This initiative shows the interest which France has for our country, and we Romanians regard France as an elder sister and a model to follow.

However, I regret the attention which Mr Dumas paid to the governing communists at the expense of the new emerging or reemerging parties. And he did that at a time when Romania is entering a pre-election period. This is a clear lack of balance in Mr Dumas' attitude and he does not seem to know where his real allies are and paradoxically gives preference to a ruling communist clan, some of whose members only recently denounced the West's political and humanist values. Has Mr Dumas forgotten that the preferential relations between our two countries are the fruit of the action carried out by the historical parties (the National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party, and the Social Democratic Party) which paid dearly for their attachment to the West? Many members of those parties were given long prison sentences as "agents of the West or French spies."

It is particularly sad to see France backing the communists because Mr Mitterrand has always been the only French politician to have a firm attitude toward the Ceausescu dictatorship.

[LE QUOTIDIEN] How can the West help Romania during the period of transition to democracy?

[Herlea] First, by sending Romania the tools of that democracy—typewriters, photocopiers, paper, and so forth. It is in France's interests to help these new parties which have no means of publishing their views, to ensure that they can make their programs known, prepare for the elections, and begin to exercise effective control over the present government as soon as possible. There can be no authentic political life without authentic opposition parties, and no legitimacy without the verdict of the ballot boxes.

[LE QUOTIDIEN] On Saturday, the National Salvation Front Council decided to outlaw the Romanian Communist Party. Is this a first sign of weakness by the Council?

[Herlea] The Council is simply continuing the policy it has hitherto pursued—superficial concessions to safeguard what is essential, in other words power exercised on the basis of totalitarian-style structures.

It is obvious that the government must take account of the demands imposed by demonstrators. This is a concept proper to all communist systems which know no other law than that of force and which only have respect for powerful people—the demonstrators in this case.

However, this measure is demagogic because the Communist Party has not really been ousted, it still exists in the Council's communist structures. Of course, its members played a positive role in overthrowing the Ceausescu regime. They partly redeemed themselves by that gesture, but it is still a case of wolves watching over the sheep. The Romanian people no longer want any wolves. They must go.

Murea on Oil Cooperation With Norway

AU2201214190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2034 GMT 22 Jan 90

["Romanian-Norwegian Talks"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—Romania and Norway will cooperate in the oil and gas industry, mostly in the extraction of offshore deposits. This decision was made during a Monday meeting between Mr Victor Murea, Romanian oil minister, and Knut Vollebak, minister, secretary of state, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Norway, visiting Romania, as special envoy of the Norwegian Government. The two ministers agreed that a delegation of experts of the Oil Ministry would get in touch with relevant companies in Norway to establish specific ways of cooperation.

Ceausescu's 'Disastrous' Oil Policy Viewed

AU2301210490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1858 GMT 23 Jan 90

["The Wide Scope of Mystification, Disastrous Business in Oil"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/1/1990—Estimates of experts of the Ministry of Chemistry and Petro-Chemistry show that, for instance, with the equivalent of the loss recorded by only one Romanian refinery in the last 20 years a new, even gilded one could be built. Why?

In defiance of any reason, the dictator decided the building of refineries to have the primary crude processing capacity reach 34 million tonnes a year. The capacities were used 90 percent at the most, even in conditions of 40 a percent rise in crude import (21.3 million tonnes were imported in 1989). An insane decision given that in no country of the world the value of the production resulted from the first refining does not cover the value of the imported crude. Between 1982-1989, a period when 92 million tons of crude were processed for export, the difference between the value of the imported crude and that of the exported oil products was negative—77 million dollars. As early as 1970 the dictator requested the raising up to 20 percent of the degree of oil chemicalization, while the world average is eight percent, since only this percentage of the products resulted from processing can turn into raw material for chemistry, the remainder being power-generating products.

Although catastrophic, the situation in the oil processing industry had nothing to do with the gas ratios, with the queues that could drive one mad waiting days and nights on end to have one's tank filled. Stocks of 500,000-600,000 tonnes of gas permanently existed in the last six years, that could not be exported because of the want of transport means.

Kiraly Undergoes Medical Treatment in Hungary

AU2401202790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1928 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Call"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Budapest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—Matyas Szuros, acting president of the Hungarian Republic, received Karoly Kiraly, vice president of the National Salvation Front Council of Romania now undergoing medical treatment in Hungary.

Mazilu Receives Italian Liberal Party Leader

AU2401193790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1903 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Romanian-Italian Interview"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—Dumitru Mazilu, first vice-president of the National Salvation Front Council, received Renato Altissimo, secretary-general of the Liberal Party of Italy, on January 24.

During the interview, the guest expressed the feelings of sympathy of the Liberal Party for the Romanian revolution of December 22, 1989. Likewise, Renato Altissimo reiterated the Italians' support to the Romanian people for overcoming the difficulties and rebuilding the country.

FRG Aid Experts Arrive To Discuss Relief

AU2401203190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1929 GMT 24 Jan 90

["FRG Experts Arrive"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—A delegation of experts of the Federal Republic of Germany arrived in Romania to assess the possibilities of implementing the program of immediate relief envisioned by the FRG foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher during his visit in Romania over January 15-16.

The experts will discuss with the Romanian Government as well as with representatives of the Germans in Romania, the possibility to achieve a program of relief to those who remain in the country where they were born.

UNESCO Higher Education Aid Reported

AU2001223490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1148 GMT 20 Jan 90

["Romania Project Launched by UNESCO" - ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—The European Centre for Higher Learning with headquarters in Bucharest will coordinate and carry into effect the Romania project recently launched by the United Nations Education, Science, and Culture Organization.

The project extends to all sectors falling within the organization's competence and is a first step toward "a wide-scale project pursuing exchanges and mutual assistance among all universities and higher learning institutes in Europe".

The centre has already received 100,000 dollars from the UNESCO director-general to meet the most urgent needs.

Mitterrand Statements in Hungary Criticized

AU2401171190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1535 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Thank You, France. Sorry, Mr Mitterrand"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—Under the above title, writer Mihai Creanga contributes an article to "ROMANIA LIBERA" of 24 January in which he asks himself: "Is this the 'European Home' Mr Mitterrand invites us to? With "an amazement that is only surpassed by our sadness" he quotes from a statement made by the French president at the end of his visit to Hungary. "Is it now when thousands of French people came to assist the Romanians after the ordeal they had been through, when our sentiments of gratitude to France and the French show in a normal sense of love that had long been suppressed, now when a spiritual community is restored and the deep affinities between Romania and France are flourishing, is it now that Mr Mitterrand thought the time was right to speak about Hungary's being "deprived of two thirds of its territory? To the benefit of whom, may we ask?" The author deplores the French president's unfair affirmations on the eve of 24 January when we celebrate the union of the Romanian principalities. The author goes on the show [as received]: "Unfortunately, in our time of trial we cherished an illusion: We thought that, before the Romanian people's sacrifices to liberty, no one would dare, at least not now, not right now, to make an attempt on Romania's honour, sovereignty, and integrity. And yet, very soon we had to let go of that illusion. But never, not in our most nightmarish dreams could we have thought that the first blow might come from France. Although, no: this is not France, this is only Mr Francois Mitterrand, its president for the time being."

ROMPRES Reports Availability of Supplies

AU1301200090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1234 GMT 13 Jan 90

["The Population's Supply" — ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/1/1990 —From the very first days of the revolution, the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council made a number of significant decisions in an attempt to improve Romanian citizens' living conditions with every passing day: exports of foodstuffs were put an end to, conditions were put in place for a normal supply of electric and thermal power to residents' dwellings, priority was given to the commissioning of production units in the food industry and to the resumption of consumer goods imports.

Adding to these measures, which show a radical change has been made in the living-standard policy, are a number of steps which the command for the coordination and distribution of the aid from abroad, created by the NSF Council, took with a view to improving the population's supply, as authorized sources of that command said in a talk with a ROMPRES editor. Following the steps taken a better supply is ensured from home resources in the case of bread, pasta, pastry products, canned vegetables and fruit, potatoes, root plants, vegetables, and fruit. At the same time, the supply of edible oil, sugar and meat preparations is better.

The sales plan for this month relies on certain resources, with an objective assessment of the supply capacity of the food industry. Furthermore, the country as a whole gives up ration tickets.

Contributing to this better supply was also the aid from abroad, which was distributed to individual and collective addresses.

Nevertheless, food resources in the Romanian economy are insufficient to meet the population's requirements for a corresponding supply, more particularly in the case of meat, fish, dairy products, butter, powdered milk, and eggs. The representatives of the aforesaid command said food stocks were running out.

The command works together with ministries and producing enterprises for production growth and imports of food as early as the first trimester of 1990.

Securitate Man Said Sent to Vienna as Diplomat

AU2201141890 Vienna KURIER in German 21 Jan 90 p 13

[Unattributed report: "Securitate Man Comes to Vienna As a Diplomat"]

[Excerpts] The Securitate agents are coming back. This time with diplomatic passports under the new leadership. The appointment of a former secret service man, who was loyal to Ceausescu, for the new Romanian Embassy's new team in Vienna, has caused some consternation.

For certain authorities in Bucharest the name Nicolae Pirosca has a negative connotation. He is said to have been a leading official of the foreign service of Securitate "DIE" (Directia Informatie Externa), and is considered an extreme turncoat. His appointment as a member of the new team of diplomats in Vienna has caused great dismay.

Examination of the Romanian fears strongly supports the suspicion. Only a few months ago, Pirosca made great efforts in Vienna to obtain the release of arrested Emil Giurca, a leading officer and spy who has meanwhile been sentenced.

Last July, 36-year-old Giurca was caught by the Austrian State Police. As a leading intelligence officer he had attempted to spy on Romanian emigrants of the Hungarian ethnic group in Austria. [passage omitted]

Pirosca's efforts were in vain. In December, Giurca was tried and found guilty and sentenced. Pirosca, who wanted to intervene, was only able to observe the trial. Following his last service for his master, Ceausescu, Pirosca disappeared only to return and rise like a phoenix from the ashes to the diplomatic corps of the new leadership. To questions in this connection, the Romanian Embassy answered with general statements on the unity between the people and the Army, the Army's contribution to the revolution, and the duties resulting from the Warsaw Treaty....

Justice Minister on 'Ceausescu Clique' Trial

AU1801153290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] In an interview with Bucharest radio, Teofil Pop, minister of justice, supplied important details about the trial of the members of the Ceausescu clique and the terrorists. In brief, in referring to the framework in which the major trials will be held, he pointed out that the Ceausescu clique will be tried at the Bucharest Military Tribunal, while the terrorists will be tried by extraordinary military courts set up in the counties. Since terrorist acts were committed almost everywhere in the country, 41 extraordinary military courts have been set up practically in all counties, including the capital.

As for the terrorists, the trial procedure will be that for flagrant violations, which means summary proceedings. Regarding the Ceausescu clique, the trial will be conducted, as already mentioned, at the Bucharest Military Tribunal, by common law procedure.

Church Representatives Reject Criticism

AU1301194290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1439 GMT 13 Jan 90

["Religious Life"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] A group of reflection for the renovation of the Church was set up in Bucharest on the evening of 9 January including Archimandrite Bartolomeu V. Anania, Dr Daniel Ciobotea, Hieromonach Iustin Marchis, Priest Toader Crismaru, Victor Sorin Dumitrescu, and Doctorand Theodor Baconsky.

The group sets to interpret and evaluate correctly the avowed wish of the clergy and the faithful for change in the life of the Church, and the initiation of a dialogue in the present Church leadership so that joint solutions could be worked out to take the Church out of its spiritual impasse.

Patriarch Teoctist and the metropolitans in the membership, of the Synod, expressed their interest in the concerns of the group. The Synod stated their agreement with change at all levels, including in the hierarchy, where it would be gradual, with respect for canonical rules.

In another line of ideas, a representative of the Patriarchy of the Romanian Orthodox Church brought to ROMPRES on 12 January a text deploring "the disgracing campaign" launched by certain mass media against the Church and emanating from individuals who "did nothing in the hardest years of terror" to support Romanian Orthodoxy.

The authors of the text probably refer to articles in "ADEVARUL," "ROMANIA LIBERA" and "TINERETUL LIBER" that attacked the duplicity of certain leaders of the Church, of his Beatitude, Patriarch Teoctist himself the only one who could have countered the tyrant, in the name of the Church, with an efficient or at least example-setting non possum.

Metropolitan Plamadeala on Church Affairs

AU2401170190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1531 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Religious Life—Metropolitan Plamadeala: 'We Had Not the Courage To Be Martyrs'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—In an interview with the weekly "22", Metropolitan Antonie Plamadeala who is in the deputation of the Romanian Orthodox Church till the election of the new Patriarch explains the controversial attitude of the clergy under the dictatorship claiming the terror exercised by the department of religious denomination was "a specialized repressive body of Securitate" and handled the clergy in various forms with no possibility for dialogue with the communist bureaucracy. "We considered that our 'piece de resistance' was our sermon about God's existence, the keeping alive of the awareness of kinship and the promotion of its perennial assets. We had not the courage to be martyrs. You could not be a martyr but once, which was useless, and the believers needed the life-giving water of God's word," the Metropolitan of Ardeal said.

He announces that the Holy Synod canceled the penalties applied under the dictatorship to some servants of the Church on political reasons.

In connection with the Greek-Catholics' current situation, the Metropolitan of Ardeal said the Orthodox Church deplored the consequences of the 1 December 1948 decree with which it did not identify itself, and that it was open to any sincere and fraternal dialogue for the reinstatement of everybody's rights.

The Bishop of Alba Iulia Resigns

Bishop Emilian Birdas handed over his resignation from the Bishopry of Alba Iulia to the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church that approved of it.

The administration of the Bishopry was taken over by the Eparchical Council presided over by Ioan Andreicut, administrative vicar.

From a canonic point of view, the Eparchy of Alba Iulia will function, till the election of a new bishop, under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Ardeal Antonie Plamadeala.

Results of Poll on Death Penalty, Parties

AU2401193390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1857 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Poll"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—The results of a poll on current public problems in Romania, taken over January 15-20 have been released in Bucharest.

Of 4,507 subjects of various ages and professions, with residence in various cities, 58 percent opine that the death penalty should not be reinstated in the Romanian law and 33 percent think it should be reinstated. According to the same poll, 40 percent of the subjects assess the outlawing of the Communist Party as a right measure and 44 percent opine the other way. It is interesting that there is a parity (35 percent both ways) as regards the justification of the setting up in future of left-wing parties of socialist, Marxist orientation. Likewise, the release shows, 67 percent of the participants assess that the social climate has improved as compared with the beginning of January, while 20 percent think it has remained unchanged and 13 percent that it has worsened.

This poll was taken by the group of organization of the Institute of Public Opinion Poll in Romania, set up by the Romanian Government at the beginning of the year. A team of experts currently assess the national experience and investigate the structures of the similar institutes in the United States, France, Federal Germany, Britain, the Soviet Union and Poland for the organization of the new institute based upon most up-to-date scientific standards.

Representative of Hungarian Minority on Goals

AU1501212890 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 13-14 Jan 90 p 4

[Interview with Zsolt Galvolgyi, member of the Executive Committee of the Association of Hungarian Democrats in Romania, by Peter Martos in Vienna—date not given: "Rights Within Old Borders"]

[Excerpt] [Martos] How do you feel as a member of the Romanian delegation at this all-European meeting ["European Roundtable" organized by the Austrian People's Party]?

[Galvolgyi] Until recently it was not even possible for the minority that I represent to establish contact with Europe, from which we received so much help and from which we expect a great deal in the future. Here we can explain our concerns and problems and incorporate them in an all-European context.

[Martos] Under Nicolae Ceausescu, Romanian and foreign critics repeatedly claimed that the dictatorship was increasingly removing the country from Europe...

[Galvolgyi] In all its aspects, the Romanian uprising is an organic element of the developments currently taking place in central and East Europe. The Romanian characteristics have not developed as a result of national characteristics but as a result of a particularly aggressive, wild, and barbarian machinery of repression.

[Martos] What is the concept of the Association of the Hungarian Democrats in Romania?

[Galvolgyi] Our concept is based on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Romania. We want to be loyal citizens of this country that is undergoing democratic restructuring. In return for our loyalty we naturally demand all rights of an ethnic minority and that we can solve our problems on the basis of the right to self-determination, including the use of our language in schools, in public life, in administrative, and legal matters. [passage omitted]

Tokes on Accusations Against Hungarians

LD1901092890 Budapest MTI in English 0800 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, January 19 (MTI)—Separatist accusations are again being voiced against ethnic Hungarians by some in Romania, and this demonstrates that the old mentality still prevails in Romanian education circles, despite recent changes—ethnic Hungarian pastor Laszlo Tokes told a group of Hungarian correspondents. (The group included MTI's Bucharest correspondent, the special correspondent of Hungarian radio, a journalist of the newspaper "MAGYAR HIRLAP", and staff of the Hungarian language service of Bucharest radio.) Mr Tokes also cautioned that the favourable tendencies manifested by the leadership do not always find a favourable response among the lower strata as yet.

In response to questions about Romanian national reconciliation and prospects for the emergence of a political dialogue, Mr Tokes had the following to say:

"The first sessions and statements by the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council—which suggested a national consensus to be easily attainable—are already behind us. Regrettably, the weaknesses of such a national consensus are already apparent after such a short time, while shadows of the past are emerging again. I cannot be very specific on this, but I have the impression that the Front pretends as if the various political parties did not even exist. Sooner or later however the two sides will be compelled to cooperate.

Speaking about the relations between the Front and the masses, Mr Tokes said recent events really took Romania by surprise.

The Front appeared in the country's life as a movement directed from above. Therefore, it is not an organic part of the revolution. Thus changes have essentially come from two sides, on the one hand from below, initiated by the people of Timisoara and Bucharest and on the other hand through the formation of the Front as opportunity arose. These two trends have not really come together so far, Mr Tokes concluded.

Magyar, German Language Instruction To Resume

AU2001223790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1512 GMT 20 Jan 90

["Instruction for National Minorities"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—For the reinstatement of the minorities' right to learn in their mother tongue in Romania, the Ministry of Instruction has started to reorganize primary schools, gymnasia, and colleges at the beginning of the second school term. The Ministry of Instruction announces that teachers belonging to the national minorities are given priority in being appointed full-time professors of the chairs in the localities where their families live. County School Inspectorates are authorized to favorably solve all the requests of the didactic staff from among the national minorities, within the shortest delay, in order to recreate the schools in their mother tongues.

One of the most important measures is the recreation of the Bolyai University of Cluj in the next academic year (1990- 1991), as an independent unit, with the same faculties as in the past: mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural sciences, geology, history, philology, and others. The possibility is envisaged of including the Magyar sections of the Medico-Pharmaceutic Institute and of the Theatre Institute of Tirgu Mures as independent units of this University. Magyar-language sections will be created again at the Conservatory, the Fine Arts Institute, and the Agronomic and Veterinary Medicine Institute of Cluj. Higher technical instruction in Magyar will be reorganized in Cluj this autumn. Another proposal under discussion is the reestablishment of German-language higher learning in Sibiu.

This autumn entrance examinations for higher learning will be held also in Magyar and German in all faculties and for all disciplines.

Pedagogic schools will be set up again, colleges teaching in Magyar and vocational schools will be reorganized and the problem of textbooks in the languages of the national minorities will be solved.

Daily Considers Monarchy Option 'Insignificant'

AU1801181590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Jan 90 p 6

[Corneliu Vlad article: "What About the King?"]

[Text] The Romanian democracy being born these days must also take into consideration the traditions of the country's democratic life. Actually, it is only natural that this should be so. Of course, nobody, or almost nobody thinks, that our new democracy should result in a mere movement in time of the political structures of the interbellum period, of the days of King Carol I, or of the turbulent period between 23 August 1944 and 30 December 1947, because this is not possible or necessary. Moreover, the democratic structures that followed one another intermittently in Romania's last century were far from being a model in this respect. However, one should not ignore the Romanian democratic experience, particularly now when we must reexamine and reassess everything. Therefore, all protagonists of the country's past democratic structures, who feel entitled to have their say in the agora today, are free to do it.

From among the abundance of problems arising today in the fertile soil of political and democratic ideas and actions on which new Romania is rising—vital problems or secondary ones, pressing problems or problems that can still wait, true or false problems, substantial or superficial ones—let us pick up and dwell for a few moments on the possibility of the restoration of the monarchy and the role that former King Michael might still play in the life of today's and tomorrow's Romanian society.

It is up to everyone to decide whether to think abut this now, or later, or not at all. Some have already done it. Among the embryos of political formations that are now trying to take shape in the country, one can hear now and then a reference to the possibility of a return to a monarchic system. As is known, on 30 December 1947, the former sovereign signed the document of renunciation to the throne, whereby he pledged to abdicate in his behalf and on behalf of his successors and to renounce all prerogatives as King of Romania in his name and in the name of his successors. After a long, very long silence, during which he had withdrawn from public life, refraining from any public statement or action in connection with the state of affairs in Romania, he decided to make a comeback; first, by taking the stand of condemning the dictatorship and directly offering his services to the Romanian people; then, he back peddled by specifying that he is ready to play a role in Romania's life if he were asked.

Therefore, one cannot avoid thinking, be it only in passing, about the meaning of a would-be return of Michael Hohenzollern at the head of the Romanian state. Would such an option be of advantage to the Romania of today? Let us leave this question unanswered for the time being and ask ourselves instead what the monarchy and King Michael mean today for the man in the street. We believe that the idea of the monarchy—particularly as represented by Michael—is practically insignificant for our voters. Opinion polls to be organized on this subject will rigorously prove this assessment, in percentages. The overwhelming majority of those who still experienced Michael's rule do not seem overjoyed by the idea. Not even among the leaders of the "historical parties" is there a consensus in this respect. As for the younger generations and today's Romanian youth, their option is quite clear.

Finally, another question that actually belongs to the sphere of the anecdotal. What made the former sovereign—after whole decades of total alienation from the country's realities, when he did absolutely nothing about Romania—to declare himself, all of a sudden, ready to be a good Romanian?

The Romanians at home and in exile and the foreigners familiar with Romanian realities with whom I recently talked, answered this question in two ways: Either the former royal head sees a possibility of returning to the throne of a future Kingdom of Romania, as a result of his own assessment of the situation or on the advise of members of his secretariat; or he was prompted to take this initiative on the advise of various political circles in the United States and other Western countries.

It is certainly not just our singular opinion that the problem of the monarchy or of Michael Hohenzollern's reemergence in the foreground of the Romanian political scene is far from being among the great priorities of the moment.

Daily Views Past 'Disastrous' Economic Situation

AU2401191190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1515 GMT 24 Jan 90

["The Scope of Mystification: The Truth About the Romanian Economy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—An exceptional and incriminating document drawn up by Professor Mihail Haseganu and advanced in October 1977 to the then Prime Minister Manea Manescu is the concrete proof that the dictator and his associates were perfectly aware of Romania's disastrous economic situation. The professor was all of a sudden made a pensioner and removed from the offices of vice-president of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade, vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and of professor with the Academy of Economic Sciences. ROMANIA LIBERA starts in its January 23 issue the publication of that memorandum entitled "Considerations on the Evolution of the Romanian Economy After the Second World War," of which we give a few ideas below.

The document mentions that in point of per capita national income the pre-war Romania was the 17th among the European countries, while in 1973 it was relegated to the standing 27 of 29 European states, with only Turkey and Albania left behind. Whereas in the 1935-1938 period Romania had a per capita national income 3.7 times smaller than that of Switzerland, 2.7 times smaller than that of Germany and 2.5 times smaller than that of France, in 1973 the difference doubled, with the above countries marking levels 5-6.5 times bigger. As for the investments (which the dictator used to boast in every speech) the author mentions that for 1973 the fixed assets created in Sweden and Switzerland were 6.5-7 times bigger than in Romania, in Finland two time—five times, in Greece—while the accumulation rate in those countries was not higher than 30 percent. The author warned the then rulers that, considering from the tough realities presented, the gaps between Romania and the other states would not be narrowed down but keep growing wider and in a foreseeable future an evening up of the national incomes would not be achieved within the CEMAA system either.

The low level of the national income, Mr Haseganu mentioned, was fully reflected also by the consumption of the population, diminished not only through a very high rate of accumulation, but also through high budget expenditures. Mr Haseganu emphasized the gross discrepancies between personal consumption in Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, where it stood at 62-65 percent of a per capita national income of 3,500-5,500 dollars and that in Romania, which hardly reached 35-50 percent of a per capita national income of about 800 dollars.

The Romanian scientist noted that the drastic regime of economizing systematically undermined the scientific-intellectual compartment. In 1972, he showed, Bulgaria had 132 high school students, 12 researchers in specialty institutes, and 23.6 medical doctors in 10,000 inhabitants, while Romania had in the same year 70 high school students, five researchers, and 15.4 medical doctors.

The second part of this documentary will be presented in a future newscast.

ROMPRES Marks Union Day 24 January

AU2401190790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1509 GMT 24 Jan 90

["24 January—The Day of the Revolution for Unity, by Paraschiv Marcu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—"For all of us to fight was to live. We were young, happy, full of energy, sure that the future was ours" Poet Vasile Alecsandri said in 1883 speaking in the name of the whole generation that founded modern Romania.

Today, when liberty in Romania is just a month old, 24 January 1859 resumes its one-time purity, emotional value, and brilliancy. The date of 24 January which, in this last half-century when Romania lived under oppressive totalitarian rules, was in turn a day forbidden, exiled, detained, hired, and stolen.

It was the flower stifled by the thistles and bramble that flourished in the mass media which glorified "anniversaries" of sad remembrance.

January, the month that saw the Romanian revolution for unity—for what else if not a revolution were the princely elections in Iasi on 5 January and in Bucharest on 24 January—and also the birth of the greatest Romanian poet, Mihai Eminescu, had been a month of the deepest humiliation for the past quarter of the century.

Now the Romanians are free at last to honour their past.

In Romanian history the union of the principalities is one of the events that built the national conscience, that retained its unaltered strength and vigour in spite of oppression, mystification and censure.

The roots of the 24 January 1859 act go centuries back in history. It is no accident that ancient Dacia was the emblem of the Romanian nation's liberation movement. One way or another the idea of Daco-Romania can be found in all the programmes and all the documents of the 1848 Romanian revolution.

Eventually, the ideal of unity was stated with a vigour that not even the great European powers could suppress.

The events in Moldavia and Wallachia in 1857-1859 were a test of political ability and diplomacy of the Romanians who, led by the same men who had been in the avantgarde of the 1848 movement for national rebirth and social progress, resorted to the international conventions in force so that the national will may prevail by electing one and the same man Colonel Alexandru Ioan Cuza—prince of both principalities.

The fulfilment of that centuries-old dream gave the Romanian people an unshaken confidence in the strength of the new state. "You can be sure, gentlemen," warned poet Dimitrie Bolintineanu at that historic time "that the nation which wants the union will make every sacrifice to have it; be sure that what the nation did, will remain for ever." The over 130 years since Moldavia's union with Wallachia have proved out this truth.

ROMPRES Cites Press on Recent Changes

AU1401160990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1821 GMT 13 Jan 90

["Introspection" — ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/1/1990 —The highly turmoiled political life in post-dictatorial Romania is the topic of interesting commentaries in the Romanian press which, being free now, is highly introspective like our entire society.

Well-known writer and essayist Octavian Paler speaks in "ROMANIA LIBERA" about the "odd and involuntary form of censorship installed in the numberless discussions these days." "Come out of a long and terrifying silence," Paler notes, "we have been taken by a genuine rhetorical frenzy and had no time to let our collocutors say their opinion. Tolerance cannot be learned all of a sudden. And it is all the more difficult to become used to the truth that an authentic social dialogue cannot function if one of the interlocutors admits to conduct a dialogue only as long as he can listen to what he wants to hear. Hence we seem to still have the flaws of the dictatorship of which, officially, we got rid," Octavian Paler says in conclusion.

In one of its stand-taking articles, "TINERETUL LIBER" shows among other things: It would have been an illusion to believe that, once the bloody Ceausescu dictatorship was abolished, the Romanian revolution can smoothly and non-convulsively pass on to the days of a balance sheet. The meeting in Piata Victoriei (Victory Square) in Bucharest yesterday fully corroborates this truth, the daily opines. Outlining an attitude toward the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, "TINERETUL LIBER" writes: Maybe engrossed with the highly serious problems inherited from the former regime, with the high imperatives for the normalization of life, the NSF Council had not the due time and did not manage to answer to multifarious questions raised by a justified wrath. But let us not forget that this Front has the legitimacy of the revolution itself conferred on it. And, just as the Front has no right to act under the impact of "state interests," to forget the people's questions and to refuse an honest dialogue with all the forces wishing the nation's welfare, so does it deserve to conduct such a dialogue in a civilized manner. The greatest danger posed to the revolution and to Romania's destiny is anarchy, the power vacuum, the vendetta brought to paroxysm, the use of a complex situation for mean and selfish purposes, "TINERETUL LIBER" assesses.

Referring to yesterday's demonstration the newspaper "ADEVARUL IN LIBERTATE" (Truth in Freedom) which comes out in Cluj shows in its 13 January issue: We have been sad for the way in which the meeting took place. It was a sign of the lack of an understanding democracy. We want democracy but we want it in order and in respect for everyone's opinion, by observing the law.

Government Dissolves Sociopolitical Academy

AU2201183990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1726 GMT 22 Jan 90

["Bucharest: Dismantling of the Academy of Socio-Political Studies"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—The Academy of Socio-Political Studies, formerly known as the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy has been dismantled under a decision of Romania's Government. That establishment's buildings and all material base are transferred to the Ministry of Instruction.

Under the same decision, a Faculty of Psychology and Sociology, as well as a Faculty of Journalism—both with a duration of four years, are set up with the Bucharest University.

The Institute of Social Theory and Politology is also set up, under the provisionally subordinated to the ministry of Instruction [sentence as received]. Professor Radu Florian was appointed director of the institute.

New Social, Literary Publications Appear

AU2201183590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1555 GMT 22 Jan 90

["New Publications"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—The weekly "22" edited by the Group for Social Dialogue was issued in Bucharest. It is a review of critical thought, of a lucid and sincere dialogue, open to all those who came out into the street in December to assert their rights.

The review publishes in Romanian, French, English, and German the 31 December 1989 declaration of principles of the Group for Social Dialogue, and renders the universal declaration of human rights proclaimed by the UN General Assembly.

In its first issue, the "22" prints the first part of Silviu Brucan's preface to his book "World Socialism at the Crossroads," New York, 1959; an interview with Ariadna Combes, Doina Cornea's daughter; and another with Antonie Plamadeala, D.D. [abbreviation unknown], Metropolitan of Ardeal. Sorin Vieru, Magda Carneci, Al. Paleologu, Thomas Kleininger, Andrei Pippidi, Helmut Britz, Janos Szasz, Rodica Palade also contribute articles to this issue.

"CONTRAPUNCT" [COUNTERPOINT], a weekly of the Writers' Union in Romania, is an organ of the "eighties" that made their presence felt in the national literature in the last decade, including a new-type melody in the polyphony of the autochthonous writing, the counterpoint.

Worth mentioning of its contents in the third issue are the essay "Romanians, An Adopted People?" (Munich, April 1989) by emigrant writer Dinu Flamind, Cristian Moraru's commentary "The Intellectual Diaspora and the Sense of Criticism," an account of the first working meeting of the "Monday Literary Society" which gets legal again after an interruption of almost seven years.

New History Magazine Series Issued

AU2301154690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1224 GMT 23 Jan 90

["MAGAZIN ISTORIC Monthly No. 1/1990—New Series"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/1/1990—The first issue—new series—of MAGAZIN ISTORIC, a monthly of historical culture, opens with a retrospect of the Romanian revolution of December 1989. The editor in chief of the periodical, Cristian Popisteanu, writes inter alia: the 1989 revolution, as it will probably be called by analogy with other decisive moments in the homeland's history, has given the green light to writing the history of a Latin and Christian people that remained European.

Professor Dinu C. Giurescu recalls in an article the endeavours of the Romanian men of letters to rescue, during the dictatorship, the architectural heritage in towns and villages.

Marking the anniversary on 24 January of 131 years since the union of the Romanian principalities, the monthly runs several articles that evoke, on the basis of documents in archives in Romania, Belgium, Austria, Russia, Turkey, Italy and England, the fight of the masses of people and the diplomatic activity carried out for the accomplishment of the union of Walachia with Moldavia.

MAGAZIN ISTORIC further presents aspects of the course of the second world war in Romania and the belligerent countries.

Demonstrations in Pristina Continue

'General Strike' Threatened

AU2401132890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Yesterday's announcement by the demonstrators in Pristina has come true. Here is Milivoje Mihajlovic's report from Pristina:

There are still some 10,000 demonstrators in front of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee building. The demonstrations started before 0900 this morning when several hundred students of Albanian nationality arrived in the main street in Pristina to continue the protest they started yesterday.

At their demand the participants were addressed by Rahman Morina, president of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee Presidium, at exactly 1200. He spoke about the difficulties which the province is currently facing.

Several thousand students booed his speech. After that, after about 1 hour of chanting familiar slogans, student Ibrahim Mejzini read the demonstrators' demands. As he said, they are opposed to the barbaric attacks on Albanians in Macedonia, they want the emergency measures in Kosovo to be lifted, and demand that a stop be put to ideopolitical differentiation. They insist on free elections and claim that the Kosovo delegation at the Yugoslav Communists congress was illegitimate, as is the Kosovo Youth Organization's leadership.

They also send greetings to the Slovene Communist delegates who left the congress. The demonstrators also demand the resignations of all leaderships in the province. If their demands are not met, they warn that they will organize a general strike in Kosovo.

On several occasions the demonstrators shouted slogans insulting Rahman Morina and Jusuf Karakusi, Kosovo secretary for internal affairs. Apart from the demonstrators there are also several thousand observers in the main street.

Leaders Resignation Demanded

LD2401140790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—The number of demonstrators in Pristina (?has risen to 15,000). In the meantime, student Ibrahim Mejzini addressed the demonstrators. On behalf of the organization of free students, he read from yesterday's known demands to the effect that the state of emergency be lifted, that political prisoners be freed, that political trials be aborted, and other topics. Apart from these demands, he said that the resignation of the entire Kosovo leadership is demanded by Friday [26 January]. Otherwise, he said, workers and students will hold a general strike. The demonstrators supported the Slovene leadership and welcomed the decision of the Slovene delegation to walk out of the LCY Congress.

'Feverish Talks' Reported

AU2401165690 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Marjan Drobez report from Pristina]

[Text] Demonstrators began to gather in Pristina about 0900. The core consisted of students, but they were then joined by other ethnic Albanians. In particular they included many workers who lost their jobs in the Ramiz Sadiku Construction Enterprise. They demanded talks with Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo League of Communists, but he refused to respond for a long time.

Later he appeared in front of the League of Communists Committee building, and in an improvised speech repeated the assurances and promises on democratic choices and policy for solving the Kosovo crisis, all taken from the well-known vocabulary of the party and the official Kosovo policy. His speech did not satisfy the indignant crowd, and he was booed.

After he walked back into the committee building, the atmosphere became even more tense. The demonstrators shouted and repeated their demands which they set yesterday. They demand the abolition of the state of emergency, an end to the campaign against ethnic Albanians, a cessation of political processes, release of political prisoners, an end to the ideopolitical differentiation, which is to say purges among the Albanians, and a referendum and free elections in Kosovo.

One of their demands is that lack of confidence be expressed to the Kosovo delegates to the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress. The crowd in front of the Provincial Committee building enthusiastically agreed with the speaker from the ranks of the students who welcomed the decision of the Slovene delegates to walk out of the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress.

For a long time the crowd then chanted slogans, of which we quote some. They shouted, for instance: We demand freedom and equality; Out with Kosovo traitors; We demand pluralism, freedom, and democracy; We demand a referendum and free elections; Free Azem Vlasi; Kosovo, too, is Europe; Stop arrests; The people do not want you, Rahman Morina, you are a dog, there is no place for you in Kosovo; We do not need police. One could also hear many insults against individuals in the Kosovo leadership, for instance Josif Karakusi, provincial secretary for internal affairs.

Despite appeals and threats by Ramus Isak, chief of the Public Safety Center in Pristina, the crowd of demonstrators did not want to calm down. The demonstrators were partly calmed down by Ibrahim Mejzimi, representative of Pristina students, who also read the latest, new demands by the demonstrators. He appealed to all the Kosovo provincial organs to meet at once, to examine the situation, and to resign. Unless this is done, a general strike will be called in Kosovo on Friday.

We have unofficially learned that feverish talks are going on in Pristina among representatives of various provincial organs on how one should respond or react to the demonstrators' demands. The political and security situation in Kosovo further deteriorated dangerously and was aggravated today.

Militia Disperses Demonstrators

AU2401160090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Mihajlovic] Militia intervention (?began) a couple of minutes ago but without the use of force [primena sile]. The militiamen are slowly pushing back the demonstrators to both ends of the street and are trying to clear up the area in front of the Provincial Committee building.

I estimate that there are around 10,000 demonstrators. They are shouting the well-known slogans and this meeting resembles in every respect the demonstrations of November 1988. [passage omitted] As I have said, at the moment militiamen are slowly trying to disperse the demonstrators from the main Pristina street.

[Announcer] If necessary, we will call you again during this program.

[Mihajlovic] An urgent expanded session of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo has been scheduled for 1700 [1600 GM].

Tear Gas, Water Cannons Used

LD2401165990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Today at 1700 the police started to intervene to disperse the demonstrators who gathered in the center of Pristina at 0900. Tear gas was fired on the demonstrators. Water cannons were also used. The space in front of the Provincial Committee building was swiftly cleared but groups of demonstrators kept on returning in the direction of the city's center shouting: "Kosovo Republic, with or without the use of force" and other separatistic and hostile slogans.

Police 'Restore Order'

LD2401182190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—After a protest by 40,000 Albanian citizens this afternoon in front of the Kosovo League of Communist [LC] Provincial Committee building which lasted several hours, the police restored order in the center of Pristina. Before water cannons and tear gas were used, the majority of demonstrators had dispersed, so only a small number of people were affected.

After the warning to disperse, the most militant demonstrators called the police "fascist." During the afternoon demonstrations, the most frequently slogan referred to Adem Demaci. The following slogans were also heard: "Blood for blood," then "Rahman sold the Albanian people," "No, no, Serbia, you will never be an empire," and "Kosovo, a republic."

Morina Booed by Demonstrators

AU2401205690 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Report by correspondents Hilmi Rexhepi and Gazmend Ademi]

[Text] The protest began this morning [24 January] at 0900 [0800 GMT] as a continuation of last night's protest by approximately 2,000 young people who demanded to speak to Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee.

Rahman Morina addressed them at about 1200, stating among other things:

[Begin Morina recording] The time has come when no leadership must be frightened by applause or by whistling. [Boos] We are ready, as men and leaders, to accept all justified criticism. Let us listen to the people and be with them. Every citizen, every villager in Kosovo knows that there are problems. [passage indistinct] Everybody is thirsty for calm, for a better future, for a better future for our children, and for better clothing for all of them. All programs approved by the LC on this will be implemented. There is no going back. We [words indistinct] for the progress of every person, every worker in Kosovo, and other areas as well.

You have asked to talk with me and the presidency of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP]. We are prepared to accept all dialogue, as we have done so far. The LC is clear about this. There can be no easy solutions without a democratic dialogue. Kosovo and all those who live in it need tranquillity. The youth have great opportunities. They must make use of the democratic processes. Our problems are great and we must return to work. We have great responsibilities, both the communists and all citizens. [passage indistinct] There is no going back. Every democratic process, democratic alternative, and democratic party must (?be involved) [very loud indistinct shouting]. Without democracy there is no [word indistinct] and progress. [end recording]

Rahman Morina then called on the crowd, numbering about 20,000, to disperse in a dignified manner. The crowd was insistent that its demands be met and refused to disperse. The atmosphere became increasingly tense and numerous slogans were shouted, some of which were unacceptable, such as: You are traitors, cowards, you have sold out. Some additional indecorous and offensive remarks about the province's leading personalities were made as well. There were also insistent slogans demanding greater equality, a referendum, free elections, and a multiparty system; expressing solidarity with the workers of the Ramiz Sadiku Construction Enterprise, and so forth.

During the afternoon, the crowd was addressed by Ibrahim Mejzini, a student, who once again reiterated the demands made during yesterday's demonstration. He then asked those present to disperse quietly. Despite this, the crowd refused to budge. In fact their numbers grew with the arrival of a group of workers from the Ramiz Sadiku enterprise. By 1700, no other leading provincial personality had addressed them, while the crowd was just standing there, shouting slogans and singing songs, particularly the song, Our Oath. Later, the crowd of demonstrators was addressed by Qeramet Ahmeti, chief of the Militia Directorate of the Provincial Internal Affairs Secretariat, who said to the crowd: It is my duty to inform you that the order of the Internal Affairs Secretariat prohibiting gatherings with the purpose of demonstrating is still in force and I call on you to disperse quietly within five minutes. The mass of the demonstrators ignored this call and many of them sat down in the street. Qeramet Ahmeti called once again on the crowd to disperse and this was followed very quickly by the intervention of the security organs, who used water cannons and tear gas. The demonstrators then dispersed to various parts of the city.

The city's main road is now free of demonstrators and calm is returning to the city.

Protest meetings were held in other cities. In addition to a meeting in [name indistinct], workers of the Albanian nationality held protest meetings also in a number of Kosovo collectives, using as a pretext the accidental death of Nuredin Nuredini in the village of [name indistinct], near Skopje. The protesters reiterated the demands made in Pristina. Similar protest rallies were held at the Obilic Power Plant, the [name of factory indistinct] in Pristina, the [name indistinct] in Ferizaj [Albanian name for Urosevac], the accumulators factory in Titova Mitrovica, and at the Printeks textile factory in Prizren.

The workers also demanded that the remaining emergency measures in Kosovo be lifted and that an end be put to the process of ideopolitical differentiation. At about 1400 today, some 100 citizens of the Albanian nationality presented a petition endorsing the demands made by the Printeks workers in Prizren and the Pristina University students. The gathering broke up voluntarily after about 20 minutes.

Albanians Attack Cars, Smash Windows

LD2401221790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2124 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—As before on similar occasions, at the end of today's demonstrations in the Vranjevac district of Pristina, Albanian extremists threw showers of stones at cars which did not have Kosovo license plates. According to initial reports, glass was shattered and damage was caused to three trucks, two passenger cars, and one vehicle belonging to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Relations.

While running away, demonstrators damaged a number of vehicles in the city's parks lots, smashed several shop windows, and broke into several apartments. [passage omitted: brief details of break-ins]

During the demonstrations, and while the demonstrations were being broken up, the security organs detained some 100 people whose behavior was most extreme.

Albanian Workers Protest in Kosovo

LD2401161790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Parallel with the demonstrations in Pristina, Albanian workers protested today in a number of collectives in Kosovo. They exploited the unfortunate death of Nuredin Nuredini near Skopje as a pretext for the protests. The gatherings supported student demands heard yesterday and today during the course of demonstrations in Pristina. Protests were staged in the power plant in Obilic, the shock absorber factory in Pristina, the Minet factory in Urosevac, and the battery factory in Titova Mitrovica.

Kosovo LC PC Presidium on Demonstrations

LD2501025290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2121 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Today's demonstrations in Pristina are hostile and obviously well organized. Political demands made at the time and the slogans which were shouted are unacceptable and even hostile. By the way in which the demands were made, by the impertinence and lack of respect shown, these demands are identical to the ones made during the strikes and demonstrations held last February.

This was an assessment made this evening by Ljubomir Popovic, secretary of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee [LC PC] Presidium, at the expanded session of the Presidium. By their character and their outward expression, said Popovic, these events are organized to realize political aims with the goal of assuming broader proportions, and to destroy the institutions of the political system and paralyze the entire social life in the province. All this was organized under the veil of democracy. [passage omitted: Popovic on the chronology of previous demonstrations in Prisina. Discussions in support of Popovic stand]

In the course of the debate at this evening's session views were heard in support of the conclusion that yesterday's demonstrations in Pristina had a hostile character and were a resumption of the activity on the part of Albanian nationalists and separatists. Nazmi Misini said that the majority of the demonstrators had been manipulated by a militant group. In Gani Jasari's view the demonstrations were premeditated and staged.

Jusuf Karakusi, the provincial secretary for internal affairs, was slightly more moderate in his assessment of demonstrations in Pristina. He stressed that "the gatherings and demonstrations in Pristina as well as the demands and slogans were not hostile or counterrevolutionary on the whole." He said that, nevertheless, there was a disruption of public peace and order which threatened the constitutional system.

Ljubomir Popovic was first to respond to what Karakusi said repeating his initial view that the demonstrations, slogans, and demands were hostile. He also provided additional arguments to support his statement. Dobroslav Radovic also insisted that the slogans and demands were unacceptable.

Karakusi took the floor again to explain that he had been misunderstood and that in no way had he tried to question the hostile character and background of demonstration or of some of the slogans. There is however no reason to dramatize the situation, he added. [passage omitted: Husamedin Azemi saw demonstrations as renewed pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate]

A number of those participated in the discussion this evening negatively viewed the activity so far of Kosovo's alternative groups and associations. Special and frequent reference was made to the Democratic Union of Kosovo, which was said to be headed by a notorious and hardened Albanian separatist.

A warning was heard that both the Democratic Union and other associations were providing a legal platform for separatists to voice their views. Calls were made for competent organs to reconsider the justifiability of the democratic union's continued existence. At the same time criticism was voiced toward the progressive forces in Kosovo and toward their inadequate activity and influence, which was said to be weaker than that of some associations or of destructive forces.

On several occasions attention was also drawn to the support for Albanian nationalists and separatists and their collusion with Slovene leadership and a section of the Croatian leadership.

A polemic developed towards the end of the session following a statement by Agim Malja. He noted, inter alia, that it was thought among the Albanians that mistakes had been made in the process of ideo-political differentiation. He also drew attention to the negative reverberations of the decision to rename some Kosovo streets and institutions.

In response Gani Jasari asked Malja to explain why he talked about the formation of new parties and associations as "an alternative to be considered by the public in light of the League of Communists's [LC] failure to resolve the national issue." A similar explanation was demanded by Srboljub Cacanovic and Miladin Ivanovic who disagreed with a large part of what Malja said. [passage omitted: Demonstrations justified decision to continue to implement emergency measures in Kosovo]

Taking part in the debate Zoran Sokolovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, began by saying that moves by the Slovene LC delegates at the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress were aimed at breaking up both the LCY and Yugoslavia. He went on to warn that democracy did not mean anarchy and that political pluralism must not be allowed to become a ground for harboring ideas about breaking up Yugoslavia.

We in Serbia are not against other parties but in our view, there is no future in one-nationality parties. He stressed that no one would be allowed to force people to leave Kosovo and went on to add that the integrity and the constitutional order of Kosovo would be defended by all available means.

In his closing speech Rahman Morina, president of Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, reiterated the stance from the introductory speech that the demonstrations were well-organized and were planned to assume wider proportions with the aim of dismantling the political system's institutions. Attempts to remove the LCY from the political scene and to devalue everything it stands for are disguised as calls for democracy, political pluralism, freedom, and equality.

These events confirm that Albanian nationalists and separatists will not easily give up their aims and that they are very skillful in taking advantage of certain events as a pretext for demonstrations in contravention of the ban on public assembly. It is obvious that this time the course and outcome of the 14th extraordinary congress, and especially discussion and proposals by a number of delegates, especially those from Slovenia, and their walkout, served both as an encouragement and a motive.

This country's enemies, including Albanian nationalists and separatists, have used this as a pretext for claiming that what is happening today is the beginning of the end and of the fall of the SFRY and of the LCY, in particular, and that an opportunity has arisen for them to realize their separatist aims. Morina warned that the latest gatherings and demonstrations would seriously exacerbate the existing difficult situation in the province and would speed up the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. He stresses that the newly created situation called for resolute measures by state organs in accordance with their constitutional powers and the SFRY measures still in force so as to prevent possible escalation of demonstrations, strikes, and other forms of disrupting public peace and order out of political motives.

The Kosovo LC will not succumb to any pressures and will do everything not to deviate from the LCY policy and program, Rahman Morina said, inter alia.

Anti-Albanian Committee Founded in Kosovo

AU2201191990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic]

[Text] In the last few days an unusual leaflet has been distributed in many places in Kosovo. The leaflet states that the Committee of Albanian Emigrants has been illegally founded. Our reporter from Pristina, Milivoje Mihajlovic, has the details:

In the past few days a leaflet has been distributed in many places in Kosovo. The leaflet informs the public that the Committee of Albanian Emigrants has been illegally founded in the province and that it consists of 20 members of various professions.

The program leaflet states that this committee is fighting the genocide of Ramiz Alia's regime and the terrorism of the secret police in Albania, Sigurimi. It also states that this organization maintains contacts with a similar committee of emigrants in Greece, as well as the democratic movement in Tirana and Shkoder. The aim of the committee is to inform the public about the situation in Albania. It also claims that it is in the possession of videocassettes on the events in Shkoder and Tirana but, as the leaflet claims, it will give them to the media only when conditions for that become ripe.

Otherwise, the main objective of the Committee is to gather together all Albanians who are democratically oriented and to create conditions for taking power in Albania. The committee has not published the names of its members, because it fears repression of their families who live in Albania.

This is the first time that such a leaflet has been seen in Kosovo although, judging by the way it was distributed and the intention to gather together all Albanians, it is similar to many leaflets from the arsenal of Albanian separatists. Therefore, one suspects that behind it lies the intention to ascribe to Yugoslavia the fomenting of unrest in Albania.

LCY Congress 22 Jan Plenary Session Reported

LD2301052190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—A discussion on and the adoption of the proposed congress documents, reports on the work of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] bodies between the two congresses, release of members of LCY bodies and the election of new members, are on the agenda of the second plenary session of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, which started today after 1400.

Opening the session, Momir Bulatovic, who was presiding, told the delegates that 212 telegrams from the whole country were sent to this congress, which is attended by 1,612 delegates and members of the LCY organizations. The telegrams, apart from expressing best wishes for successful work, appeal for unity and support the proposed declarations.

Bulatovic informed the delegates that the working presidency yesterday received an initiative from the delegates of the Slovene congress, which, apart from appraising the commission work on the proposed documents as insufficiently focused, demanded that a plenary session be held yesterday. The working presidency was unanimous in the assessment that the envisaged pace of work should not be disturbed and it recommended to the commissions to concentrate on the documents, Bulatovic said.

Asking to speak, Borut Pahor proposed that during the discussion on the congress documents, Milan Pancevski's speech not be discussed, since it had nothing new to add which would be appropriate to the new reform moment. Pahor's proposal was rejected by an overwhelming majority of votes.

After opening a debate on proposed documents, Bulatovic invited Stevan Korosec, chairman of the Commission for Drafting the Documents, to take the floor. The debate, in which almost 1,000 delegates and guests took part, did not refer just to the proposed documents but also to the work of the LCY Central Committee between the two congresses, and to the situation in society in general. The debate was open and critical and, unfortunately, on occasions its tenor—which reflects the state of consciousness within the League of Communists [LC]—was not something to boast about, Korosec said.

Having recommended the documents' adoption he went on to note that a total of 599 amendments to the documents have been submitted, with 458 to the Declaration alone. He stressed that there were no amendments to a resolution on the position of our nationalities in neighboring countries. A great number of initiatives were sent by republican and provincial congresses, from the League of Communists organs and organizations, and from individual citizens. Heed was taken of many of them while the rest will be submitted to the new Central Committee, its organs, and commissions for consideration, Korosec explained.

Preparations for the congress and debates conducted during it have, according to Korosec, reflected the present juncture and the fact that what seemed of lasting and stable value yesterday is in the process of being changed today. Socialism in turmoil has pushed to the forefront demands for the freedom of individuals and associations. What was a complete social system yesterday, has turned out to be a failure today, Korosec said.

The end of the authoritarian socialism in which a single party had monopoly, is not, however, the end of socialism, Korosec stressed. We in Yugoslavia are at a crossroads. Shall we now, when the old formulas have showed their impotence and there are no new ones, have the courage to take a decisive step toward democratic socialism? According to Korosec, this must be done. This was even written down in the proposed documents, he noted.

We must overcome the fear of losing privileges, which some still have despite being aware of the necessity for change, Korosec cautioned. A coalition of democratic forces gathered around democratic socialism is necessary. That project raises hope in virtue of its humanistic vision and return to civilizational trends.

According to Korosec, the LC must adapt its internal organization to program orientation, must be uncompromising toward its own mistakes. There can be democracy only in conjunction with free, pluralistic elections. If there will be democracy, there will be socialism.

The congress should mark the end of the agony and the begining of development. We must state plainly that the one-party monopoly and ideological dogmas are to be left in the past, and, that in the future we shall embrace law-governed state, civil and free society, Korosec stressed. Judging that the LC is on the right path, he stressed that the period of learning how to act under new conditions is before us. We must be resolute and fast, Korosec cautioned.

In Korosec's assessment the declaration is an efficient and modern means of communication with the Communists and with the world. It signals the end of the closed circles of bureaucratic power. It identifies socialism and freedom, democracy, development, and equality of nations and nationalities. This is why the League of Communists requires a new program and a new statute, said Korosec.

The discussion was at its most polemical in the Commission for the Reform of the Political System. Nonetheless, unity was reached. The constitution must be based on the interests of the nations and nationalities and our citizens, and not on the fetishes of the past, he stressed.

The Commission for the Reform of the Economic System confirmed that economic reform and curbing inflation are a priority task for our society. The FEC [Federal Executive Council] and the Assembly are responsible for this task, but unless eveyone in the country is prepared to cooperate they themselves cannot do anything, was the warning issued by Korosec.

The Declaration, he said, represents a concretization of the commitment of the First LCY Conference. The FEC has done away with any taboos. If we succeed in that we shall restore the status we had and the belief that ideas can be translated into tangible results, said Korosec.

Secret pluralist elections will ensure democratic legitimacy of the state power. The League of Communists, as an equal competitor with other political organizations, will recognize only this kind of elections, stressed Korosec who also pointed out that the League of Communists task, together with all democratic forces, is to contribute to a freer, more secure, and better life for everyone.

With nine votes cast against, the plenary session approved the Report by the Commission for Drafting Congress Documents, submitted by Stefan Korosec. With a convincing majority the delegates went on to approve Milan Pancevski's introductory report as the first document of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

The Declaration, "A New Project for Democratic Socialism and Yugoslavia" was then submitted for discussion and clarification. Milan Pintar from Ljubljana took the floor. He said that in the commission he introduced an amendment to one section of the Declaration in which there was a confusion over the respective tasks of the League of Communists and of the state organs. He also believes that some amendments adopted by the Commission for Congress Documents made the basic text worse, moving it in the direction of unitarization of the LCY because, to give an example, the expression "compulsory unity" is introduced. If the tales about compulsory unity and democratic centralism are continued, at least 30 percent of its membership will immediately leave the League of Communiss of Slovenia, and no one will join it, was the warning issued by Pintar. Pintar explained that he was speaking Serbo-Croat because "he felt ashamed when delegates start picking up their earphones the moment somebody from Slovenia or Macedonia begins to speak." If at least a fragment of the time spent on tales about brotherhood and unity had been used to learn the languages of other nations and nationalities, the number of current misunderstandings would have been much reduced. This particularly applies to those, added Pintar, "who say that they win wars but lose peace." This delegate criticized the fact that instead of the original proposed commitment in the Declaration concerning entry into the EC, there is now the commitment "to urge cooperation".

With 25 votes cast against them, the delegates then approved the amendments to the Declaration as a whole. The vote was followed with the amendment discussion about this document. To be more accurate, an overwhelming majority of the delegates was in favor of this procedure, while 25 votes were against it, as estimated by Momir Bulatovic, who was chairing that particular session.

Already during this first vote taken by the delegates it was shown that because of lack of appropriate technology, except in the cases when the documents are adopted by acclamation, there will be considerable misunderstanding about the counting of votes. Disagreements of this nature happened afterwards as well.

In the discussion on the specific amendments Marijan Cingula proposed that the text of the Congress Declaration should stress an even more active policy toward Europe. We favor a Europe without borders. For this reason our new status in Europe is the cornerstone of the overall transformation and prosperity of Yugoslavia. We are working for Yugoslavia's full participation in European integration processes and membership in the EC, in the European Council, and in other similar European organizations, said Cingula.

As a member of the Commission for Drafting the Documents, Vasil Tupurkovski replied that this part of the text had originally been put forward and that its substance was inherent in the latest proposal as well. The proposal, as put forward by the Commission, does not rule out the possibility of EC membership, nor does it close this possibility, but it is somewhat wider because it refers to other world integrations as well.

Luka Mestrovic made the assessment that the demand for Yugoslavia's full participation in EC membership must be considered carefully, because the EC is not only an economic but a political community as well. Community members have given up a portion of their sovereignty. Can we give up our independence, wondered Mestrovic, stressing that Yugoslavia cannot withdraw into itself but must widen the scope of cooperation.

During the first round of voting, Cingula's amendment received 549 votes. The chairman noted that this was insufficient for the amendment to be approved. However, in this connection several delegates immediately asked to be given the floor. [passage omitted: Boris Tepasic objects that the majority of 807 votes was necessary for the adoption of the declaration, instead of a simple majority]

The discussion then went on. Janez Kocijancic asked to speak. He recalled that the Slovene Communist delegation did not come to the congress in order to break apart the LCY, but with concrete stances which are legitimate and which, according to him, are of essential importance for the League of Communists. The stances essentially concern LCY unity. He thus proposed that the LCY transform itself into an alliance of equal republican organizations which link themselves freely within the LCY.

In contrast to Kocijancic, Svetomir Skaric proposed that the LCY is transformed from a sociopolitical organization into a modern, single and democratic political party. Such a reform would presuppose a complete change in internal relations with the party, so, as he put it, there would be no problems.

Branko Horvat noted that there are two proposals currently: That the LCY become "a League of Leagues," or to become a democratic socialist party. Horvat was in favor of the second proposal because the present LCY is already "a League of Leagues." He believes that the transformation into a socialist party must be carried out by a Central Committee, which will be elected at the congress. He recalled that the initiatives for a creation of a socialist party have come from four republics, and all those interested in this should meet during the first break in the session and learn about the proposals' content.

Milos Bojovic reacted and stressed that this is still the League of Communists congress. Those not wishing to belong to the League of Communists should go, he said and stressed that the LCY has already advocated political pluralism. Since, he noted, each person who has different views has the right to political organization and to contribute in that manner to social development. We at this congress, Bojovic underscored, must be united and must preserve the LCY's unity.

In Gojko Stanic's opinion, the LCY has changed in a major way its doctrine through its new attitude and through accepting the management of enterprises on the basis of ownership and capital, and hence it will inevitably be transformed into a socialist party of Yugoslavia. We are no longer communists, but socialists, and we should enter the left wing of the European Parliament, Stanic said.

Do not request of me solutions for something we have not resolved at this Congress, Tuperkovski replied to the invitation of the chairman to assess the preliminary amendments. [passage omitted: Ratomir Vico said that the amendments dealing with the LCY's character should be dealt with in the debate on the statute. Nijaz Durakovic calls for unity in the LCY]

Nijac Durakovic said that he supports Branko Horvat—and may those who are interested get together during the break, and if they want to set up a new party they can do this. Perhaps this party will be of assistance to us. However, we must guard ourselves against Danai bearing discord.

As regards the Bosnian initiative, Durakov said that this is a proposal by several delegates and guests, and not the orientation of the 10th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists. The Congress opted for LCY unity, but one which is not arranged in advance and which implies differences, and in the framework of which decisions are made on the basis of common aims.

Having said that, in keeping with a basic democratic rule, delegates should be familiarized with all initiatives prior to voting, Desimir Medjovic said on behalf of the group of delegates from the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists, and explained their initiative that the LCY grow into two political parties of a left-wing orientation—a communist and a socialist party of Yugoslavia. For almost 50 years the LCY has not permitted the existence of legal political competition and has been the a priori occupier of state power "without a restriction on the duration of its mandate," Medjovic stressed.

The continuation of the existing situation, or rather attempts to maintain illusory unity, through the LCY and outside it, will further strengthen divisions on a republican and provincial basis and the real and difficult contradictions in the being of the League of Communists, the only phenomenon-based expression of which is the dilemma over whether to have a federation of federations or a unified League of Communists, Medjovic added, expressing the conviction of the initiator [passage omitted: Medjovic reads out the explanation]

Concluding, Medjovic turned to Nijaz Durakovic, stressing that the LCY is still his party and that he will continue to belong to its socialist current. It was explained to Branko Horvat that this is not an initiative to found a socialist party at the 14th LCY Congress. [passage omitted: Chairman Bulatovic says there are four amendments to change the same part of the Congress Declaration]

Before the vote Ciril Ribicic took the platform to draw attention to the fact that behind the amendment to the text of the Declaration, proposed by Janez Kocijancic, stands an entire republican organization, that is, the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia. That republican congress obligated the Slovene League of Communists delegation to ensure at the 14th extraordinary congress that the LCY should be transformed into a league of independent republican organizations freely joining the LCY.

Replying to Ribicic, a delegate (who did not introduce himself) said that it was impermissible for the delegates to "be present" today "at the interment of the LCY," that they are driven "underground," and that the LCY must be saved and its unity attained. A woman delegate, likewise unidentified, drew the attention of the Slovene delegation to the fact that it could have reckoned that the stands of the League of Communists of Slovenia and of its delegation at this Congress could not be accepted.

When Chairman Bulatovic finally tried to put Janez Kocijanicic's amendment to the vote there was unrest again in the hall and a break was ordered. After the break the floor was given to Ivica Racan who, on behalf of the delegation of the League of Communists of Croatia, proposed that the Congress adopt the original text of the political declaration with temporary validity until, on the basis of all the amendments submitted during the Congress, a comprehensive discussion has been held concerning the new LCY Program and its new Statute.

It would be a bad thing if we were to decide about major issues through this or that amendment, stressed Racan. Racan also suggested that having approved the Declaration, the Congress should resume work for the adoption of other Congress documents.

The chairman interpreted Racan's proposal in the sense that if his proposal is accepted all previously submitted amendments should be withdrawn. This produced a new "upset" among the delegates and the working presidium withdrew for a brief consultation.

After the break for consultations Momir Bulatovic, on behalf of the working presidium, said that Racan's proposal was constructive and well-meaning, but that it had been assessed that its acceptance would open up a new "round" of replies, so Racan accepted the presidium's suggestion that he should withdraw it.

Taking the platform immediately after that, briefly, Racan said this: The working presidium has assured me that the congress will work better and more successfully without my proposal. You will, he added, prove this. The initiative by the delegates of the League of Communists of Croatia was offered in a well-meaning spirit and can be withdrawn. However, this good intention must be supported by more tolerance and respect from among you for the sake of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress' success.

Votes were then taken separately on five amendments offered to the section of the Draft Congress Declaration text which is as follows: "The LCY should be transformed as soon as possible into a modern and democratic political organization with a revived socialist program." One hundred and sixty-nine delegates voted for the first amendment submitted by Janez Kocijancic—that the LCY should be transformed into an organization of independent League of Communists republican organizations which freely join the LCY—while 1,156 delegates were against it.

The remaining four amendments were then rejected. Svetomir Skaric's proposal that the LCY should be transformed from a sociopolitical organization into a united democratic political party received only 28 votes. Sixteen delegates voted for Branko Horvat's initiative that the LCY should be transformed into a democratic socialist party.

Nine delegates voted in favor of Gojko Stanic's amendment that the LCY should be transformed into the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia. Finally, since it received only 58 "for" votes the proposal submitted by Desimir Medjovic on behalf of a group of delegates from Bosnia and Hercegovina, that the necessary conditions be created allowing for the LCY to be split into two parties, the KPJ [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] and the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia, was defeated as well.

After this outcome of the vote (the "against" votes were not counted because judging by the number of "green" cards the mood of the overwhelming majority of the delegates was obvious) Momir Bulatovic noted that the aforementioned section of the Draft Congress Declaration text on changes within the LCY remained the same. His statement was followed by stormy applause.

In the continuing debate Gojko Stanic submitted the first amendment to other parts of the proposed declaration. Under this amendment enterprises in social ownership would be transformed into enterprises in the ownership of employees. Stanic urged a prompt answer to the question: To whom does capital in social ownership actually belong. This part of the declaration is, according to Stanic, rather vague. [passage omitted: He stressed the need to encourage workers to become shareholders and advocates different forms of ownership in the social sector]

Regarding the amendment proposed by Stanic, on behalf of the commission working on the LCY Declaration, Vasil Tupurkovski assessed that its adoption would be contrary to the document's general character. There is no place for such a detailed proposal in the declaration. The text already contains a principled stance that socially owned property should have economic and legal owners. The amendment put forward by Stanic was then rejected since only 100 delegates voted for it.

Pande Lazarevski demanded that the preamble of the first of the three amendments to the proposed declaration state that the "LC has positive merit for the war's outcome, but it bears historical responsibility for the situation which the country is in..." Furthermore, he proposed that the declaration emphasize that Marxism is just one of the numerous ideological and theoretical foundations for politics and LCY activity. According to Lazarevski, efforts should be invested in depolitization of work places in the Armed Forces, the state security service, state bodies, administrative and judiciary bodies, public media, and the educational system.

For the first amendment put forward by Lazarevski, 135 delegates voted; for the second, 224; and for the third 200 delegates. Thus, all three were turned down.

Since the proposed declaration states the principle League of Communists orientation to abandon the monopoly position Rajko Novak proposed in the amendment that immediate political tasks specified in the document should state clearly: "In line with the principle orientation for political pluralism, including the multiparty system, the LCY is giving up the constitutionally enshrined monopoly role and proposes to the SFRY Assembly to change the Constitution in this respect."

On behalf of the commission for the declaration, Vasil Tupurkovski assessed that the amendment put forward by Novak is not contrary to the LCY orientations.

With just 28 delegates against, the delegates adopted with a sizeable majority the amendment on the LCY abandoning the constitutionally enshrined monopoly role, which was greeted by thunderous applause in the congress hall.

Peter Bekes submitted an amendment which says that consolidation of the situation in Kosovo was possible providing there is strict adherence to constitutional provisions and to obligations stemming from international documents on respect for human rights. The SFRY Assembly is being asked to consolidate the situation in Kosovo along the lines of democratic reforms. The amendment calls for an end to all trials in Kosovo undertaken on the basis of Article 114 of the Penal Code (counterrevolutionary threats against the social system). It also urges that until the new constitution is adopted, no political trials should be instigated. The SFRY Presidency is being asked to accompany democratic reforms with an amnesty. [Passage omitted: Bekes calls for the release from prison of Azem Vlasi and the group sentenced with him]

Vasil Tupurkovski informed the delegates that the congress had received a number of initiatives to the same effect and that the Presidium had agreed to inform delegates about it. He went on to note that a resolution on Kosovo was among the documents to be adopted by the congress and that this was the reason why the Declaration did not dwell on the issue to a greater extent. If the amendment is accepted it should be incorporated in the resolution and not the declaration, Tupurkovski said.

Bekes' amendment was rejected with only 236 votes in favor of it.

According to the amendment proposed by Ljubo Bavcon, a priority LCY task, apart from the outlined ones, should be abandoning all political and judicial processes under Articles 114, 139, 133, and 137 of the Penal Code, as well as the prevention of the use of torture and other humiliating proceedures by internal affairs bodies. This refers to the articles of the Penal Code regarding counterrevolutionary endangerment of the social order, hostile propaganda, and insulting top state bodies.

Putting forward reasons for the proposal, Bavcon explained that the essence of every system and regime, irrespective of its name, is revealed in practice through its criminal law. We cannot emerge from the crisis and join Europe if we breach minimial civilizational standards, Bavcon stressed. The LCY, he said, still has all levers essential for this sphere of social activity and the power to prevent repressions.

Tupurkovski explained that the Presidium did not make a decision regarding this amendment, since the amendment was not forwarded to it. Since I reject any form of repression with indignation, I personally approve of the amendment, he added.

Vladan Kutlesic and Jusuf Karakusi reacted to Bovcan's proposal. They did not accept disqualification of all internal affairs bodies, as if torture was their main characteristic. Karakusi does not concede that this attribute is ascribed to the bodies in Kosovo. Kutlesic assessed Bovcon's proposal as putting pressure on Vlasi's trial.

Kutlesic also believes that this amendment's adoption would create problems when formulating other clauses of the Penal Code. The amendment put forward by Bovcon was not adopted, since 399 delegates voted for it.

Aleksander Ravnikar from Kranj repeated during the congress plenary session the amendment which he had submitted yesterday during the commission's work. In short, he proposed that the demand should be introduced into the declaration, in addition to urging the abolition of the verbal offense, to abolish all regulations with the force of law which also not infrequently violate human rights.

Five hundred and fifty delegates voted for Ravnikar's amendment, and 488 were against. As a result a procedural problem cropped up because, as announced earlier, 1,612 delegates are taking part in the congress' work. In a brief statement from the congress platform Drasko Milicevic remarked that the congress was begining to resemble a congress of lawyers and that the Declaration was weighed down by legal details not understood by many delegates who, for this very reason, simply do not vote. Ravnikar remarked, however, that there was no quorum and that, moreover, there was no quorum when previous amendments had been voted on either.

Because of this procedural problem the working presidium ordered a 30-minute break.

After an interval, it was established that 1,459 delegates were present. The voting on the amendment submitted by Aleksandar Ravnikar was then repeated. Although 710 delegates voted for and 680 against it, the amendment failed to receive the necessary number of votes and was not accepted.

By a majority of votes, delegates adopted an amendment providing for the autonomy and independence of the judiciary. The amendment was submitted by Ahmet Hodzic. The gist of the amendment is that the declaration should emphasize that in addition to courts and judicial organs, public prosecutor's offices should also be guaranteed autonomy and independence. Judges and public prosecutors must observe law in their work regardless of their allegiance, Hodzic stressed when explaining his proposal.

Following several unsuccessful attempts to appropriately formulate the issue of verbal offence, on which a number legal experts insisted, Drasko Milicevic, an engineer, succeeded in doing it. He submitted a very clear amendment: Verbal offence should be abolished together with all other laws and bylaws which restrict human rights and hamper the implementation of constitutional rights. Only five delegates voted against this amendment.

Believing that this is a priority political task, Marko Bulc proposed that a place should be found in the declaration for an appeal to the Communists to stop all economic blockades in the country, including the economic blockade between Serbia and Slovenia. However, his proposal failed to get the necessary number of votes.

Slobodan Vucetic proposed that the stipulation "in keeping with the SFRY Constitution" should be added to the section of the declaration speaking of the right of the nations and nationalities to self-determination and secession and also that the federation enjoys full state-legal subjectivity. As a result of the vote, his amendment was incorporated into the declaration's text.

However, the congress delegates did not think the same of Miran Potrc's amendment. He suggested that the stipulation that Yugoslavia is a democratic community of freely associated nations and nationalities who fulfill their rights in the republics and through them in the federation should be inserted as well. Potrc also proposed that the amendment be inserted that in Yugoslavia freely asociated nations fulfill all their rights in their republics on the basis of self-determination and self-secession [as received] and that they democratically decide about the business and rights which they will transfer to the federation. [passage omitted on details of several amendments]

The first amendment approved without a vote against it was Slobodan Lange's proposal that the procedure should be opened for the SFRY's acceptance of all human rights documents adopted in the United Nations and in Europe. Zvonko Lac's amendment which envisages that political activity must not be based on the abuse of people, especially of children, was also approved without a vote cast against it.

However, Novica Stanic's amendment, which in fact proposed opening up a process of political rehabilitation, failed to gain support. [Passage omitted on discussion on the amendments to the congress declaration. Ciril Ribicic proposes that the Slovene delegates walk out of the congress]

Finally, Ciril Ribicic, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee, proposed that the delegates of the Slovene LC walk out of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. Afterwards, the delegates of the Slovene LC left the congress hall followed by applause, but also whistles. [passage omitted in which Ivica Racan proposes a recess in the congress' work and threatens a walk out. Slobodan Milosevic reacts to Ivica Racan's proposal and demands continuation of the congress]

In continuation of the second plenary session, which followed after an almost 4-hour break after the departure of the Slovene League of Communists delegates from the congress, the delegates, at the proposal of Milan Pancevski, presiding, adopted a decision on the congess' temporary suspension.

This decision was adopted on the basis of a proposal formed in the break by the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the working presidium of the congress. Presenting these stands, Pancevski appealed that the situation which has arisen not lead to a deterioration in interethnic relations and the country's political situation.

The next, third, session—in practical terms a continuation of the 14th extraordinary congress—at which draft documents and decisions will be adopted, as well as the election of the LCY organs, will be scheduled subsequently by the LCY Central Committee. In the meantime, it is necesary to resolve the situation which has come about in the LCY after the walkout by Slovene delegates.

The Presidium, the Central Committee, and other LCY organs will continue their work and carry out vital preparations for continuing the congress. The appropriate preparations will be carried out by the republican and provincial organizations of the League of Communists and meetings with Congress delegates will be held.

The delegates were asked to accept this decision without opening up a discussion, and then they adopted it with two votes against it.

Milosevic Addresses Congress Committee

AU2501091990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report on speech by Slobodan Milosevic in the Commission for the Reform of the Political System of the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on 21 January: "Nobody From Outside Has Built Yugoslavia, So Nobody From Outside Will Bring It Down"]

[Text] The Commission for the Reform of the Political System listened to Slobodan Milosevic's speech with great attention. In his speech he said the following:

For at least a year, all of Yugoslavia was waiting for this Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and for the last several months, a large section of the world public was also waiting for it, Slobodan Milosevic said. As regards Yugoslav Communists and Yugoslav peoples, they are awaiting this congress with a question in their minds, but also with hope. The question is as follows: Can Yugoslav Communists help their country solve the crisis? The hope is that they can. That hope did not appear just like that. It appeared as a result of irreversible historical facts. These facts tell us that Yugoslav Communists have always remained with their people or at least did so during difficult times.

Despite all the troubles we are having now, ranging from inflation to chauvinism, this hope that the people of Yugoslavia harbor about those of us who are present at this Congress, represents an obligation for us. It obliges us to resume our position on the front line of the struggle for the good and for progress, as well as for social reform that will not only solve our discontent, but also bring us general prosperity, and that means that we must voice one more historic no. We must say no to discord and the moaning about that which has brought us to this situation. I do not doubt that all, or at least the majority, of Yugoslav citizens are in favor of changes. However, we cannot make these changes if we are divided, and particularly not if we are quarreling, Milosevic said.

Serbia Is in Favor of United LCY and Yugoslavia

Reform is a word which undoubtedly rallies all Yugoslavs, but in order for reform to be realized, it should rally Yugoslavs not only as a word, but as a force as well. This was, however, where the Yugoslav peoples stumbled, so that now the joint and unanimous activity on realizing reform cannot begin. Therefore, now, as in many past years, communists—that is, their organization, should come to help. It sounds completely superfluous, even nonsensical to say that they can do so only if they are united and remain together. However, that nonsense is our reality. That nonsense that resulted in the disunity and division of communists cannot lead any activity, particularly if reform is the real topic of our congress.

The only activity that disunified communists can perform is to abolish their organization. After all, that activity is being performed in this hall too. Much of what has been said on this rostrum indicates that disunity—the real subject of this congress—is not the disunity of communists, but of their leadership. The proposal that the LCY should be turned into the league of leagues is only in the interest of bureaucratic elites of these separate leagues of Communists. Plans for the war between Yugoslav Communists and, I would say, Yugoslav peoples, too, are being made in their headquarters.

If the unity of the LCY is established at this Congress, these chiefs and their headquarters will leave their party and join any of the others, as long as they can be autonomous in that other party, so to speak; feudal lords in their own fiefs.

As regards Serbia, it supports a unified LCY for many reasons, Slobodan Milosevic stressed. Above all, it supports unification because at a national level, the League of Communists ceases to be a progressive organization. It mainly becomes a nationalist or a national level socialist organization. Further, it supports unification because a united League of Communists is the chief guarantee that national and religious hatreds will not spring out from the darkness concealing them into the light of the day, the hatreds that had led us into a fratricidal war in the past, a war which we well know was such that its consequences will burden the consciousness even of the generations that are yet to be born.

We are in favor of a united LCY also because we are in favor of a united Yugoslavia. I must say, however, that we are in favor of a united Yugoslavia not because Serbs live all over the country, but because Serbs are not the only ones who live in Serbia. Most of all, we are in favor of a united Yugoslavia because the Yugoslav peoples with their economic, cultural, familial, and all other links are increasingly dependent on each other, as citizens of a single united country.

We in Serbia Do Have the Complex of Being Most Numerous in Yugoslavia

We in Serbia no longer suffer from the complex of being the most numerous in Yugoslavia and we no longer feel that we should hide ourselves like mice and agree even with things that are not in our interest lest those who are in a minority feel frustrated. However, I can say here on behalf of the Serbian people that Serbia will by no means abuse its size to the detriment of any smaller people in Yugoslavia. Serbia will not abuse its historical, spiritual, and political renaissance for degrading or humiliating other, smaller peoples. Let Slovenes, Albanians, and all others be assured about that, Slobodan Milosevic said.

There Is No Reason To Equate Events in Yugoslavia With Those in Other Socialist Countries

We shall support united Yugoslavia and socialism as a rich and democratic society—that is, democratic socialism that the entire modern world is moving toward. I can even say with a clean conscience that we shall fight for these tenets even if we fail to win this time; that victory will be brought about in the future by social events in the modern world, an era in which, thanks primarily to economic and technological development, the exploitation of the races, classes, nations, and the people is abolished. That victory may be in fact won by children who will not be able to state their national affiliation without hurting one of their parents, unless they say they are Yugoslavs.

A new Yugoslavia and new socialism are in front of us. Nobody but people full of an extreme hatred fail to admit that Yugoslavia has always supported democratic socialism at a higher level as concerns material wealth, people's freedom, and the dignity of every man. It was so in 1941, 1948, 1950, 1965, 1968, and 1988. The Yugoslav Communists did not manage to realize their entire concept, but they were at least one, if not three big steps in front of other socialist countries. It is the same now.

Therefore, there is no reason to equate the events in Yugoslavia with those in other socialist countries. They are now bringing down the kind of world we had brought down in 1948. They find it more difficult to bring that world down now because for them it lasted longer and many people hated it not only because they were discontented with it, but also because they had not chosen it themselves. We Yugoslavs have always built our country ourselves. Since nobody from outside has built it, nobody from outside will bring it down either. At least that is something we will not allow. The same strength that was used to create Yugoslavia must be used to preserve it, Slobodan Milosevic said.

Economic Reform Commission Meets

20 Jan Session

LD2101132190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 January (TANJUG)—It has been shown that the program of socialism of the kind we have been implementing has left much to be desired, to say the least, despite the big strides we had made in relation to other socialist countries. This was stated by Stanko Radomilovic in his introductory statement during the Commission for Economic Reform's session.

The solutions we have been groping for, especially since 1974, were assessed by Radmilovic as a palliative and as unsuitable. Confirmation of this stance is to be found in the fact that the changes we introduced failed to resolve the crisis which was growing worse.

Despite these shortcomings, Radmilovic continued, Yusoslavia pulled well ahead in relation to other socialist countries. This advantage was maintained until last year when radical changes started taking place in Eastern Europe.

As a consequence, one must pose the question whether the reforms we are advocating now are radical enough to keep us in the race and to make sure we do not fall behind other socialist countries. During the 14th extraordinary congress we must examine the reform's basic tenets from this point of view as well.

There are no disputes within the League of Communists, Radmilovic resumed, concerning the necessity of the existence of the universal market, pluralism of ownership forms, pluralism of management forms, and the assertion of managerial skills. The notion that social property should be dominant has been defied. So has the notion that all private property should be a priori re-privatized. [as received] Social, private, and other forms of ownership should be on equal terms. Only in the case of social property manifesting its ineffectiveness, even after better systemic solutions, should different solutions be sought.

Radmilovic spoke in favor of a macroeconomic reform which would tend toward the Constitution of a true federation in which the interests of its parts and its whole would be represented in an optimum way. We should not, he said, strive for a unitarism, which would bring inequality to certain parts of the country.

[passage omitted: Radmilovic says the Federal Executive Council (FEC), program should be implemented regardless of anyone's disagreement. Milan Sikanic proposes that a special federal commission establish all underdeveloped areas in the country. Milos Srejic believes the congress should clearly say what kind of state it perfers. Jovan Gligorov fears that agricultural production will remain underdeveloped and that it should be subsidized]

In Dragisa Vinulovic's opinion the crucial question is how to transform socialist self-management into an economically successful system. Workers in the social sector should be the bearers of these changes, Vinulovic said, by becoming real masters of the social product surplus. He believes this is a way to create a true communist community of free producers.

Vinulovic advocates that the League of Communists create workers' unity and resolutely oppose the chauvinistic and separatist programs of other political parties.

How to convince the majority in Kosovo that the inclusion of this province in the reforms is the only way for it to overcome the political and economic crisis, and vice versa—how to convince the whole country that this is in Yugoslavia's interest? These were the questions to which Ljubomir Radovic paid most attention.

Submitting his written contribution in which he analyzes which forces and in what way they can be engaged in this struggle "until the final victory," Radovic warned the disunity regarding this issue was making the situation worse. It is separatists, as he put it, who count on "the worse, the better." [passage omitted: Velisav Birovljevic says the agricultural problems have been neglected since 1975. Matjaz Mulej proposes democratic centralism be replaced with a coordinated decentralization]

Stipe Lovreta maintains disintegrating elements are built into the core of the system. This is why we have failed the three most important tests—efficiency, integration, and the development of political democracy.

Reality has shown that systems based on market principles have ensured the highest degree of economic growth. Developed countries are making the market global; they are moving from the shared market to a unified market, whereas Yugoslavia is following the opposite trends. If we commit ourselves to a unified Yugoslav market, the dilemmas about a federal or confederal system will appear superfluous. We will have to commit ourselves to an effective federal system that also implies broader competences on the part of the federal government. The commitment to the market also takes us toward a multiparty system, as it also demands full competition among all forms of ownership. At this congress the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] must resolutely commit itself to a unified Yugoslav market and to everything it implies, Lovreta maintains. [passage omitted: Radoman Bozovic deliberates on the methods of reforming the forms of ownership]

In Bozovic's opinion we should evaluate social property as social capital, that is, as a value. The mistake made on an earlier occasion regarding the socialization of those sectors unfit for this should not now be repeated in the course of reprivatization. Therefore, a wider ground should be opened up for transforming part of social property into a public one. A part of social property should also be transformed along commercial principles into mixed- type property (on the basis of shares and stocks). Even reprivatization of some parts of the social sector, along market principles, is also to be considered. The money obtained in this way should be invested in infrastructure and in new projects.

Reflecting on the program of economic reforms, Bozovic noted that its inconsistencies and misinterpretations must be quickly redressed because as soon as next month it will be too late. Otherwise the disproportions, such as the regional redistributions and those among economic sectors and the ratio between prices and salaries, will threaten the program as a whole. The program cannot count on support unless it opens up developmental prospects, so this question must be urgently answered. [pasage omitted: Farmer Salih Kehic maintains the FEC program does not envision enough benefits for agriculture. Rade Crnomarkovic says that the party must turn toward a market of political ownership and proposes that public enterprises be turned into enterprises with collective ownership in which workers would have their share depending on years of work. SFRY's opportunities in tourism listed. Miladin Bozanic complains the room was half empty after the break and that most of those among the leadership who are to blame for the country's situation had left. A peasant delegate noted that only one farmer had been put forward as candidate for the Central Committee. Discussion that the consensus economy must be implemented in greater accordance with market logic. The price of labor must depend on the market, believes Milutin Savelijic; tanjug take nine not received.]

Having described FEC members as cunning practitioners, Vojislav Despotovic suported the government's reform-oriented efforts, which he believes to be on the right track. It is necessary, however, to build a uniform and efficient state that cannot exist without a uniform market, uniform tax policy and, generally, without uniform "rules" of the game.

Rado Bohinc proposed concrete amendments to the draft declaration for the development of democratic socialism in Yugoslavia, saying its title should be "Declaration for a More Efficient Society and Democracy for Yugoslavia." He thinks the concept of a new socialism has not yet been worked out in theory and, in fact, it is a matter of a struggle for a way out of the crisis and for reform, which should be a movement stripped from ideological qualifications and dogmatic restrictions. [passage omitted: Bruno Korelic proposes that the Congress documents include the amendment specifying social ownership should be transformed into the ownership of those who contributed to its formation. Javanka Zecevic spoke about the situation in villages, calling for urgent radical changes in agrarian policy. Stanko Cvijan blamed Krunic, Renovica, and unnamed others for their mistakes and failures and supported Pancevski's speech in which the president of the LCY Central Committee Presium proposed, many new solutions.]

Dragutin Antic, on behalf of the Borovo collective, called for stronger political support for the FEC program. Exhausting political debates led nowhere and we should turn toward the most fundamental issue—how to get out of backwardness—concluded Antic. [passage omitted: there is a need to change our attitude toward young people who are the key elements in all changes and processes, declares Kemal Osmic. The basic congress docoment must contain all major causes of the crisis, thanks Nikola Crnobrnja. He also calls for abolition of laws on associated labor.]

The failure of the government's program, in the opinion of Crnobrnja, is that it has not dealt with the law on associated labor completely, that it is not selective enough which does not sufficiently encourage economic activity, especially the export of finished products, and that it failed to envision considerable reduction in consumption. [passage omitted: Jelena Jovanovic asks why the country is not capable of preparing the balance of foodstuffs at the beginning of the year.]

Djordje Djukic stressed that the monetary policy must be centralized at the federal level. Such solutions exist in the majority of developed countries and in the FRG, for instance, the central bank is not even responsble to the parliament. [passage omitted: Djukic supports FEC proposal to abolish the Council of Governors. Zdravko Tomicic thinks one of the main causes of the crisis is that decision on investments were made under political pressure. One delegate asked whether money on accounts abroad would pay for Yugoslavia's debts, but has so far not received an answer.]

Bora Temenugov's report ended the work of the commission for Economic Reform for today. Thirty delegates took part in the discussion and a dozen submitted written reports. One hundred and twenty-one delegates took part.

21 Jan Session

LD2101234190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0839 GMT 21 Jan 90

["LCY Congress: Commission for Economic Reform"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted: Radenko Stepic says the people will tolerate inflation but not the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Ferzo Celovic says there are many managers who are scared of modern technology.] Nikola Cubra pointed out that the Yugoslav People's Army did not uphold the view that social property should be dominant, but that it had to fight for such a status in a competition among all forms of ownership.

The Yugoslav Peoples' Army fully supports the FEC [Federal Executive Council] program while believing this program has a chance to survive and to be implemented only alongside constitutional reform. Cubra also spoke in favor of a more precise definition of the term democratic socialism—whether it is a social-democratic society or whether it is a modern socialist and democratic community.

Nikola Cubra advocated that the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army be ensured on the basis of a unified tax system that will empower the federation to establish the basis for financing the Army. [passage omitted: Minka Draskovic maintains the crisis has dealt a serious blow to Yugoslavia's children. Vukasin Stolica believes the FEC measures will be unsuccessful without a new modern Constitution. Marko Bulc says that Yugoslavia cannot be regarded as a common home until the economic blockade is dropped]

I do not believe those people who advocate a shared Yugoslavia and brotherhood and unity while driving enterprises into economic isolation, Marko Bulc said, adding that this is even more so in the market economy and that such conduct cannot be excused by the attitude toward alleged exploitation. Who in the world is going to believe that we will observe contracts if enterprises in the country are severing their ties at the request of politics? Bulc asked.

To prevent horrifying consequences and then to create a market economy we must transcend this blockade that amounts to putting the economy into a political straitjacket, Bulc said. Following this he proposed that the congress adopt an amendment calling on the Communists to stop the blockade of economic cooperation at all levels in Yugoslavia and to appeal for economic cooperation in the country and in the world.

Marko Bulc's address sparked off a hail of replies. The first to speak was Drasko Milicevic who responded primarily to the term "straitjacket." As a manager I agree, he said, that economic blockades are no way to approach Europe and the world. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this was a provoked reaction to the previous violation of freedom of movement in a compact state and to the state of emergency and arrests.

The straitjacket impregnated with separatism and hatred should be taken off, Milicevic noted. He added a protest against the artificial distinction between delegates who are for the declaration and those against it. Nobody is against this document, this is just a question of whether it should annul all the other materials of the congress.

In his following address Bulc said that his words can be rendered in whatever way one pleases, nevertheless the fact is that there is no access to Europe unless we drop the blockade. As far as the declaration is concerned, Bulc explained that he did not talk about the distinction between the delegates who were against and those who were for the declaration, but he had called on them to adopt it in a unified way.

Miras Djurovic agreed with the assessment that the modern world does not recognize provoked break-ups of economic ties. Still, he added, if the comrades in Slovenia change, a lot of other things in Yugoslavia will change too. For this reason he called on them to cooperate while being hailed by the hearty applause of a certain number of delegates.

The economic blockade is an anachronism and a flagrant violation of the law and the Constitution, and the congress must express its view on that, stressed Ivan Stefanic. He took umbrage at the fact, he said, that a parallel is being drawn between the meeting of the Serbs and the Montenegrins in Ljubljana which did not take place, and an Albanian rally in the city.

Stefanic believes that the Albanians met in Ljubljana because what they said on that occasion, they had not been able to say where they constitute a majority. [sentence as received] Although heckled humorously he ended his reply by making the evaluation that meetings are not a place where the problems can be resolved. [passage omitted: Two speakers quoted on meetings and Slovene support for Albanians. Delegate says blockades are pointless, and another says the decision to stop cooperation with Slovenia was made by the Serb people and not the Serb leadership. Delegate suggests that the

Slovene and Serb leadership resolve their problems while another delegate says an integrated market would resolve all the problems]

Zoran Jelic said that work organizations in Slovenia were blackmailing the Serb economy, which has no choice but to buy commodities in that republic. During a period of just a few months prices have increased by as much as 10 times.

After Jelic's statement the Presidium gave a five-minute break. Having been established that as many as 21 delegates wanted to speak on this topic it was decided that this particular discussion should be abandoned and the debate was then resumed in accordance with the established sequence of speakers. [passage omitted: speakers discuss the health service]

Djordje Nedeljkovic transmitted to the congress greetings from the Peasant Farmers' Alliance in the Zrenjanin municipality and particularly addressed himself to Ante Markovic, saying the farmers expect a great deal from the FEC measures. This morning, said Nedeljkovic, I drank one espresso and paid as much as I get for six litres of milk. A glass of fruit juice cost me 15 litres of milk. With this sort of parity we cannot expect higher food production. [passage omitted: Two delegates quoted briefly on industrial problems]

Simo Bulajic pointed out that lack of concern for agriculture over a period of several decades has brought about a situation where our people have to set aside a major portion of their personal income to buy food. Scant respect is paid to the interests and requirements of agriculture, said Simo Bulajic. The industry requires between 350 and 400 heavy tractors from imports, but the purchase of only 50 has been approved. At the same time expensive foreign cars manufactured by well-known international firms are imported without any problems.

The LCY is increasingly becoming a party of technocrats and officials because the workers and peasant farmers are leaving it en masse, Petar Tomic warned. [passage omitted: Another delegate complains about the problems in agriculture. He is answered by a delegate who says considerable concessions have now been granted to this industry]

Greeted by applause, Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo then mounted the platform. After remarking that this is perhaps the last time he will speak at a congress of the Communists, Tempo said that he does not agree with the assessment that the latest events in Eastern Europe signal the end of Bolshevism and socialism. In his view they signal the end of Stalinism, and Yugoslavia's contribution to this oucome is greater than anybody else's. Not only by virtue of 1948," as he put it, but also by virtue of its economic reforms in 1952 and 1953.

Having stressed that the positive thread along the development path of the country has been to constantly increase the independence of enterprises, which is a line continued by Markovic's government, Tempo said that the key problem of how to separate personal income from accumulation has not yet been resolved.

In his view there remains the question of how to strike a balance with regard to the interest of workers simultaneously increasing accumulation and earnings, because no one knows who will fix the cost of labor. Collective agreements are being introduced, but in fact no one knows who the partners are, Tempo believes. He said that perhaps he is old fashioned, but he refuses to accept capitalism as a solution because he is convinced that the spirit of enterprise is possible in socialism as well.

Mihajlo Milojevic again put relations between Serbia and Slovenia on the agenda, starting with the claim that since the liberation the Serb economy has not owed anything to anyone. [Passage omitted: Further remarks about Serb economy] One cannot talk, he believes, about shutting off the Serb market and about the blockade of Slovenia. What this is all about is the effort to establish equality that has been lacking for a long time.

However, added Milojevic, there are grounds for discussing the blockade of the implementation of the LCY policy, of the program on Kosovo, and of other important documents. It is here that we have to prove the degree of our civilization and of our membership of Yugoslavia.

The first delegate to ask to reply was Janes Troskaj who recalled the debts and the claims that emerged in Slovenia as a result of the break of economic ties with Serbia. In four municipalities in Gorenjska alone the direct damage amounts to DM 1.2 billion or 8.4 billion convertible dinars, said the Slovene delegate, warning that the economic reform cannot be expected to succeed if the blockade is not removed. [passage omitted: Delegate quoted on the need to speak the truth]

Radivoje Perovic entered the plea that all blockades should be stopped, not only in the economy but in the procedure regarding the constitutional amendments as well. We need that urgently, and we must not forget the overriding need to resolve the situation in Kosovo as well.

Joze Korensek repled to this, asserting that no problem can be resolved if the people are forbidden to express their views and stands. He went on to say that the congress will not make any progress at all if it ignores the essential question of the economic blockade which is tied to politics. The congress must take a clearly defined stand because Yugoslavia cannot live in this way.

Korensek also reacted strongly to the claims that the Slovenes are resisting constitutional changes. We support the changes, but we have our observations to make as to the way this is done and our views about what has to be changed, he stressed.

The last delegate to respond was Miladin Aleksic who reiterated the assessment that what this is all about is

Serbia's wish to establish equality. Any further discussion on this topic was stopped by the chairman who recalled that a special working group will discuss this problem. [passage omitted: Andjelko Vasic quoted on the role of the trade unions and Rajko Uncanin on the need to increase the use of production capacity. Two speakers were quoted on agricultural issues and on private and social property. Delegate was quoted on the need to care more for young people and Tomo Baclic on the need for equality among the people]

Tomo Baclic suggested that a stance be incorporated in the documents to be adopted by the congress that the LC be organized only territorially, which means the abolition of party organizations in enterprises. He believes this would contribute to the reduced influence of politics on the management of the economy. [passage omitted: Delegate quoted on the unfair treatment of the workers in some sectors of the economy, and another delegate on the need for the reforms to be fully implemented]

For Rajko Novak the congress' most important task is to ensure the Communists' readiness to facilitate a democratic transition to a free pluralist society. This is a political and moral commitment of the LCY if it wishes to remain on the political scene.

In this sense Novak suggested that the stands on the LCY giving up its monopoly political role, on the commitment to political pluralism, which also implies political parties, on free elections, and on more rapid constitutional changes which are the function of economic reform be introduced into the congress documents. In his view other constitutional changes have to be prepared more thoroughly so that all our nations can express their views on them separately.

Novak suggested that the congress urge the abolition of the two remaining special measures in Kosovo, which he explained by reference to his conviction that the problems there should be resolved by the people themselves on a long-term and efficient basis. The road to that, he said, is through greater autonomy and responsibility for their own economic development, with the cooperation of all of Yugoslavia.

In addition to these congress documents, Novak also proposed three conclusions. The first one refers to a condemnation of the economic blockade of Slovenia. In the second he urges the Communists to leave the cadre commissions, leaving the decisionmaking about personnel to the workers and capital owners. In the third one he proposes that political activity in enterprises be stopped, which implies the abolition of the LCY basic organizations in them.

Zvonko Erak suggested that the Communists come to an agreement on how to adopt decisions on issues upon which they disagree. What he was thinking of was the fact that the new LCY program and statute are about to be adopted. [passage omitted: Speakers quoted on the economy, Kosovo]

Dragan Pavlovski spoke at length about the situation in Tetovo municipality which is becoming increasingly difficult because of an excessive and uncontrolled birth rate. With the Albanians the annual birth rate is 21 per 1,000 head of population, and 7.2 per 1,000 head of population in the case of Macedonians. He drew attention to the fact that a massive immigration of the Albanian population is typical of the whole western area of Macedonia, and he wondered whether this is leading to the majority of this nationality. [passage omitted: Delegates quoted on social ownership and the need for Communists to work in unison. Aleksandar Stamatovic believes that it will be very difficult to switch over to a market philosophy]

Aleksandar Stamovic referred to Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo's statement denying his claim that U.S. aid during the fifties amounted to about $20 billion and that it was mainly military aid. The fact is, according to Stamatovic, that during that period U.S. aid for military purposes amounted to $760 million. [passage omitted: Delegates quoted on the wage freeze, need for a free market of ideas, workers' financial status]

In Predrag Lazarevic's view the congress should only discuss the reform and transformation of the LC. We can address ourselves to economic and other problems only after we have cleared that up.

More and more people are leaving the LC, especially workers. Quite simply they do not want to share the blame with the leadership. This party cannot be the vanguard of the working class if only one out of 10 members is a worker. On the whole, we are here only to pay our membership dues, said Lazarevic.

He asked for an answer to the question of who our party and state maintain relations with and whether perhaps in some quarters a Ceausescu is still applauded. Referring to a POLITIKA EKSPRES report, Lazarevic asked whether it is true that Stefan Korosec "traveled by air from ball to ball." If this is true he cannot be elected to a responsible position, and if it is not true then the paper publishing this must be punished.

We have opted for a market economy because Yugoslavia's existence on a nonmarket model is not possible, believes Franc Hudej, because no one in the world wants to pay for this experiment anymore. The creditors have not been willing to do so since 1980, after Tito's death, while the experiment with paper printing at Topcider has reached the point of no return. It is obvious that the FEC's attempt to fight hyper-inflation will at the beginning be inevitably accompanied by a fall in the standard of living and considerable social tension. However, if the reform does not succeed this time either, we will be threatened by the breakup of Yugoslavia, unless we reject the civil war as a possibility, Hudej warned.

The delegates from Slovenia urged only the adoption of the congress declaration as the main document. In addition he found it necessary to respond to one of the morning replies to Marko Bulc when it was said that "the

Slovene people are spitting on the soul of the Serb people." It is not the Slovene people who are spitting on the soul of the Serb people because the Serbs and Slovenes have never been at war nor have they had any other conflicts. According to Hudej it is the individuals in its leadership who are spitting on the soul of the Serb people because of temporary ambitions and to stay in power: They spit systematically on the soul of the Serb people, they spit on economic reform and on Yugoslavia.

Replying to Hudej, Tomica Raicevic rejected the idea that congress documents should be ranked, stressing that this amounts to matters being put back to the beginning of the congress when the majority of the delegates opted for treating them on an equal footing. The document on the LCY's unity and on Kosovo cannot have lesser importance in relation to the declaration, Raicevic believes. [passage omitted: Three delegates quoted on party issues several speakers quoted on a variety of topics ranging from impoverished townspeople to work as a forgotten category]

Milovan Milic demanded that the congress make a decision about a referendum in which all Yugoslavs can spell out the sort of community they want to live in because, he explained, the hypocritical and selfish urging of market economy envisioned exclusively in accordance with one's own interest is unacceptable. [passage omitted: Delegate quoted on inefficiency of economic operations. Delegate suggests that the FEC economic program is a "choice fruit" unlikely to do well in a harsh climate]

Having mentioned that the new constitution has to be passed by the end of this year, and the party program in 2 years, Savo Culic put forward a proposal by 21 delegates from virtually all parts of the country that the 14th congress invite the Communists in Serbia and Slovenia to reestablish their interrupted economic cooperation. Fraternal cooperation, he said, should be based in the spirit of Vuk Karadzic and Jernej Kopitar and "brotherhood and unity" trains. [passage omitted: Delegate quoted on underdeveloped areas]

Supporting the federal government measures, Dr Milorad Unkovic warned that inflation cannot be surmounted without sacrifices. However, the fact must not be forgotten that more than anyone else Serbia weighs under the turnover tax, the freezing of infrastructure, of local service prices, and of personal income. [passage omitted: Two delegates quoted, one on confederation and the other on the LCY being transformed into a league of leagues]

Kiro Ristovski pointed out that apart from the FEC he has not heard of anything else that could possibly guarantee a better future for the citizens of Yugoslavia, while Jovanka Plazacic warned that various "seducers" are worse than murderers. She appealed to the leaders of Slovenia and Serbia to meet in Sarajevo in an attempt to find a common language because it was precisely in Bosnia-Hercegovina that Tito said that we should "preserve brotherhood and unity as the pupil of our eye." Urging the LCY to remain a single organization, Jovanka Plazacic transmitted the message to those who do not want such a party—leave it. [passage omitted: Several speakers quoted briefly on a variety of topics]

We want a unified Yugoslavia and a single LCY, said Milica Jankovic, suggesting that the SFRY president should be elected for a four-year term. He should be elected by the people and should be responsible directly to the SFRY Assembly. [passage omitted: Three speakers are quoted on varied topics]

Dr Jurij Bajec endorsed his appeal for faster development of all areas in Yugoslavia with the information that for several decades we have been stagnating with a national income of $2.5 per head of population. [as received] This is the result of a system which has divided us. The extent to which we have fallen behind can be confirmed by the fact that with an annual growth rate of 1 percent we would require 70 to 100 years to do no more than to double the current national income per head of population, and even then we would have attained only one half of the current national income of the Austrians. [passage omitted: More quotes from Bajec on underdeveloped areas]

The underdeveloped areas' troubles were illustrated by Dimitrije Stoilkovski who quoted the case of his own municipality, Kriva Palanka, where only 5,000 people are employed and 2,500 are unemployed. [passage omitted: A delegate is quoted as saying that the LC alone can get the country out of the crisis. Several delegates quoted on a variety of topics, one of them insisting on national conciliation. Two delegates quoted on economic issues]

Stojce Kocev drew attention to the fact that one cannot emerge from the crisis without sacrifices. Although the FEC president, when he made that statement, did not define whose sacrifices he had in mind, it seems that it will be our society's poorest people.

Dragan Andjelkovic urged that the new Central Committee get a program mandate from the congress, which means that it should not be given a "green light" until it has submitted a program on the basis of which it will operate. He also urged that party membership dues be reduced and standardized at the rate of 1 percent of personal income. [passage omitted: A delegate is quoted on the high rate of taxation]

Petar Kovac said that this congress has no particular opportunity to introduce essential changes into our system's development. The LC is bureaucracy-laden, and if it wants to get rid of bureaucracy then it must discard all bolshevik blemishes and give up democratic centralism. The LC should not be protected by the Constitution, Kovac said. It is incomprehensible that we should have developed relations with virtually all the countries in the world, while relations between two of our republics are breaking up, Mijo Misilo said. It is also incomprehensible that in this state (but not in the party) there is no one who can stop these relations from breaking up. [passage omitted: Three delegates quoted briefly on a variety of issues]

Dusan Borovic warned that social tension will reach a point of explosion if the country's developed north fails to provide an immediate injection—an economic, not a political one—in order to save the situation in the underdeveloped south. The latter's difficulties will exacerbate with entry into the economic reform because the exhausted and impoverished economy will not be in a position to sustain market competition.

Milijka Kovacivic made the assessment that the federal government program should be supported more resolutely. It suits Yugoslavia, and there is no need therefore to work out to what extent anyone is going to be hurt.

Radojka Milanovic, as the last, the 135th, participant in the discussion in the Commission for Economic Reform, also urged unreserved support for the FEC program.

The Commission for the Reform of the Economic System of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress ended its 2 days of work late tonight. A draft report on the commission's work was approved and this report should be adopted by the congress during its plenary session after the amendments have been incorporated.

The draft report stresses that the discussion has confirmed the support for the FEC program as a way out of the crisis and as a road leading to stable development. Of course, the program has to remain open, allowing for some solutions to be improved on. The need for a general social consensus regarding the implementation of the government program is also stressed, as is the fact that the support should not be merely verbal.

The commission will suggest to the delegates of the 14th congress that they urge opening a democratic dialogue, without any preconditions, so that the misunderstandings in relations between Serbia and Slovenia can be removed and normal cooperation resumed.

Markovic on Amending Constitution

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[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] amended its proposal to initiate changes to the SFRY Constitution and will send it to the Yugoslav Assembly as soon as possible. In a conversation with journalists today after a session of the federal government, FEC President Ante Markovic said that the changes primarily referred to the area of the political system and functioning of the state, calling them "a political aspect of the pluralism of ownership."

The new positions, as Markovic said, envisaged direct elections and a possibility of a multiparty political organization, a reorganization of assemblies and their executive organs, independence of courts and the public prosecutor's office, and the abolishment of some offices of selfmanagement attornies. The FEC santions are contained in the formulation which authorizes it to implement federal laws on the territory of the entire country.

In the SFRY Assembly we shall make an agreement that the proposal should be given a priority so that a normative development of the text could start as soon as possible, Markovic said, adding that sending the proposal to the Yugoslav Assembly would be preceded by meetings with presidents of the assemblies of all republics and provinces—that is, their executive councils.

According to him the FEC initiative is not contrary to the proposals of constitutional changes being prepared by the SFRY Presidency, on the contrary, it will facilitate a debate on the country's new constitution.

The FEC president stressed that the amended proosal as well had its limits without which there would be no reform and a realization of the state's macroeconomic functions. These are, he stressed, huge changes which create conditions for the economic reform to grow into an overall social reform. The proposals are based in part on the comments made by the assemblies of the republics and provinces on the original text.

Asked by a journalist what will happen if the amended proposal of the constitutionl changes did not "pass," Markovic said that he did not believe that this would happen since the initiative was so consistent that it would be difficult to reject it. More so since recent visits by the FEC representatives to all republics and provinces have shown that his economic reform program, despite certain reservations, has been given a plebiscitary support of working people.

The FEC believes that for it to be able to carry out its part of the task, conditions should be created for it to act as a manager and seek only minimal instruments which any government in a country with a market economy uses. In a another conversation with journalists Markovic stressed that the strongest lever of the FEC economic program was the convertibility of the dinar.

He said that this morning foreign exchange reserves amounted to 6.8 billion dollars, which is 1.1 billion more than when the program began. The convertibility is a lever, he said, which not only opens up toward the world and Europe but also erases our borders in a most efficient and radical way.

He also said that this opening apart from convertibility presupposes the compatibility of the tax system, protectionist policy, standardization, and the like.

Assessing price movements in January, the FEC president said that following the law of inertia they had been growing in the last days of December, but that in January the situation was already completely different. A daily monitoring of the prices of 17 products important for living standards has shown that since 11 January the situation has been settling. Not a single one of these products has had its price increased, while some have even become cheaper. Expressing optimism, he stressed that the program would prove its quality in the area of prices as well, in particular in February and March.

Commenting on events at the party congress and the position of the FEC after this, Markovic stressed that the government has develped a program which does not have to rely on anybody except on progressive forces in Yugoslavia—that is, that the government was an organ of the SFRY Assembly and that in this respect nothing had changed.

On the other hand, the party events are an internal matter of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia], while a decision to postpone a definitive outcome, according to Markovic, is a wise one. It is also important that nobody at the congress disputed the FEC program since this proves that it is possible to gather the League of Communists and other progressive forces around a modern, reform, and Yugoslav-oriented program.

Regardless of the fact that the LCY will remain united or will become several parties, particularly in view of openings for multiparty organizing, the state must function—and it will do so, Markovic concluded.